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ABSTRACT

In July 1986, a colloquium was convened to develop a position paper on access, assessment, and developmental education. This colloquium report contains the keynote speeches presented at the event, along with a statement developed by the participants regarding the issues. First, introductory material describes the purposes, sponsorship, and group processes of the colloquium. Next, the following speeches are presented: (1) "Are We Ready for the Future?" by R. Stephen Nicholson, which places access, assessment, and developmental education within a broad environmental context, and raises questions about the two-year college educators' readiness to deal with contemporary high risk populations; (2) "Access and Excellence: The Articulation Challenge among Urban High Schools, Community Colleges, and Four-Year Institutions," by Nolen M. Ellison and Janet D. Smith, which calls for an equity-based educational model built on the four dimensions of access, process, achievement, and transfer; (3) "Status of Testing Practices at Two-Year Postsecondary Institutions: Trends and Issues Affecting Minority Participation," by Jacqueline E. Woods and Ronald A. Williams, which summarizes the results and implications of a 1986 survey on testing practices in two-year colleges; and (4) "A Silver Anniversary Special: The Anatomy of Excellence in the Community College," by John E. Roueche, Suanne D. Roueche, and George A. Baker, which reviews the accomplishments and failures of the community college movement. Finally, the position paper, "Critical Issues in the Community College: Access, Assessment, and Developmental Education," is presented. (EJV)

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TOWARD MASTERY LEADERSHIP IN ACCESS, ASSESSMENT, AND DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION

Summary report of a colloquium held in Traverse City, Michigan July, 1986

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TOWARD MASTERY LEADERSHIP IN ACCESS, ASSESSMENT, AND DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION

Summary report of a colloquium
held in Traverse City, Michigan
July, 1986

Edited by:
John S. Keyser
and
Deborah L. Floyd

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The presenters provided the stimulus for the thought and discussion from which the initial draft of the position paper on "Access, Assessment, and Developmental Education" was developed. R. Stephen Nicholson, Chancellor of Oakland Community College; Nolen Ellison, President of Cuyahoga Community College; John Roueche, Professor and Director of the Community College Leadership Program at the University of Texas; and Jacqueline Woods, Director of the Washington, D.C., office of The American College Testing Program, were excellent keynoters for the different themes. They injected tremendous energy into the four-day session.

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Introduction

John S. Keyser
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This is a summary report of a national colloquium on "Mastery Leadership in Access, Assessment, and Developmental Education." For the third successive summer, The American College Testing Program provided financial support for a Mastery Leadership Colloquium and for the publication and distribution of keynote speeches and a position paper. Other sponsors of the colloquium included the National Council on Student Development, National Council of Instructional Administrators, American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges, National Council on Black American Affairs, and National Council of Hispanic Americans. All of these groups are affiliated with the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC). The National Association for Developmental Education, an organization representing all of higher education, was an additional cosponsor.

Between July 20 and 24, 1986, representatives of these groups gathered on the campus of Northwestern Michigan College in Traverse City, Michigan. The purpose of this colloquium was to develop a position paper on access, assessment, and developmental education. The charge to develop this paper was initially made by the Board of Directors of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges in its 1985-86 agenda for action. The AACJC Board, under the direction of President and Chief Executive Officer Dale Parnell, believed that access, assessment, and developmental education were critical issues affecting all Association members. The AACJC Councils that sponsored this colloquium were asked to take the lead in developing a position paper for presentation to the AACJC Board.

Chapter 5 presents the 1986 Traverse City Statement, "Critical Issues in the Community College: Access, Assessment, and Developmental Education." The statement was developed through an intensive group process. Separate groups of ten to twelve community college practitioners met to discuss each of the three themes. After a number of drafts, definitions were agreed upon, critical issues were defined, and recommendations were made. The thirty-five contributors believe that this position paper will be helpful to community and junior college professionals in their quest to maintain and enhance excellence and opportunity. It also is intended to provide a direction for action on a common national agenda.

The participants believe that access is the cornerstone of the community college movement. It should not be defined narrowly as simply "keeping the doors open." Access must be practiced via each community college being sensitive to community needs and providing specialized support to maximize the opportunities for students to succeed. The promise of the open door cannot be fulfilled unless support and encouragement programs are in place.

Assessment should not be used to restrict access. Rather, it should be used to promote the success of students toward the pursuit of educational goals. It, therefore, must be comprehensive, including assessment of motivational levels, study skills preparation, educational readiness, self-concept, and past performance. Assessment programs that are comprehensive and administered by competent professionals will increase the chances of student goal attainment.

Strong and effective developmental education programs promote access by better preparing students for transfer and vocational programs. They depend on comprehensive and judiciously administered assessment programs for a definition of who will benefit from specialized

support. Successful developmental education programs enhance academic standards, improve student retention and goal achievement, and provide important benefits for society as a whole.

Four nationally recognized leaders helped stimulate the thinking and clarify the discussion that culminated in the 1986 Traverse City Statement.

R. Stephen Nicholson, Chancellor of Oakland Community College, made the opening keynote, "Are We Ready for the Future?" In chapter 1, he places access, assessment, and developmental education in a broad environmental context. Acknowledging the past successes of the community college in dealing with minorities, veterans, and women, Nicholson raises questions about our readiness to deal with contemporary high-risk populations. Is the "open door" a myth when our buildings are intimidating, our entry and instructional services are not adjusted to student needs, and the attitudes of some are cavalier? As a social anthropologist, Nicholson analyzes the structural readiness of the community college to deal with current challenges. He asks, "Have we replicated the past through an archaic production industrial model? And has this model prevented the integration of services that would enhance access? Has this model glorified individualism and created little encouragement for teamwork, cooperation, and the development of integrity and citizenship?" Nicholson challenges his colleagues to revisit the basic commitment that we must have to deal with the disenfranchised. He says to not engage in seeking answers to these questions may lead to the obsolescence of the community college.

Nolan Ellison, President of Cuyahoga Community College, gave the keynote address on the theme of access. His presentation was based on a paper he coauthored with Janet Smith. In chapter 2, they focus on the urban setting, where the challenges of access are paramount, and on the partnerships that need to be improved among the various sectors of education.

In "Access and Excellence: The Articulation Challenge Among Urban High Schools, Community Colleges, and Four-year Institutions," Ellison and Smith call for an equity-based education model built on the four dimensions of access, process, achievement, and transfer. This model, if implemented, will increase the number of minority students who move successfully from one level of education to another and will reverse the trend of increasing separation between the educated majority and the uneducated minorities. They argue for the formation of vertical partnerships that will provide students the opportunity of planning a total baccalaureate degree program.

The essential elements of these vertical partnerships are leadership, the development of reading, writing, and mathematics skills, the creation of a climate of expectations that students can learn, and the use of assessment to provide continuous feedback. Ellison and Smith review a number of contemporary research and policy efforts which relate to vertical partnerships that promote access and success for minority students. They also summarize recommendations from a recent Ford Foundation report on improving the transfer connection. The Councils of AACJC are charged through five specific recommendations to become major players in building effective linkages with high schools and universities. By pursuing these partnerships with a clear sense of purpose, a concern for students, and an emphasis on quality, the standards of an equity-based education model can be realized.

In chapter 3, Jacqueline Woods, of The American College Testing Program, addresses the topic of assessment with coauthor Ronald A. Williams, of Mercer County Community College. They summarize the results and implications of a survey on testing practices in two-year postsecondary institutions completed early in 1986 in the "Status of Testing Practices at Two-year Postsecondary Institutions: Trends and Issues Affecting Minority Participation."

The survey results are grouped into four major categories: Admissions Testing, Placement Testing, Program Completion Testing, and General Information on Testing Practices. In each of these categories, important issues are raised, major trends are summarized, and the consequences of these trends are analyzed.

The authors suggest that educators need to rethink and strengthen many current strategies that pose threats to access and equity in community college admissions, placement, and exit activities. Ten recommendations are made to assist educators in creating positive support mechanisms for minorities.

John Roueche's remarks on the theme of developmental education are summarized in chapter 4. His presentation was based on a paper he coauthored with Suanne Roueche and George Baker entitled "A Silver Anniversary Special: The Anatomy of Excellence in the Community College."

In this chapter, the authors review the accomplishments of the community college movement and discuss its two continuing failures: Its failure to deliver on the promise of the open door and its failure to achieve an identity of its own. They express their belief that the challenge of the

low-achieving student and the limited ability of community colleges to meet the challenge of the open door can be resolved through better leadership and management. They review their studies on teaching effectiveness and excellent community colleges that document student success. They view the community college as a unique professional bureaucracy still in the emergent stage of development. A model of leadership and group structure within the excellent community college is presented. According to their model, effective leaders are task oriented, people oriented, and effectiveness oriented and operate with a collaborative style. These leaders develop systems that maintain a high-quality organizational climate. They help promote a shared philosophy that students should be guided firmly into making positive choices regarding their future. This is accomplished through strong processes of assessment, placement, and standards of academic progress. People are organized in units that promote decentralized decision making and open communication with extensive interaction among various divisions, functions, or units of the college. Other key elements of the model include student acquisition, student matriculation, curriculum integration, and student monitoring. They conclude that leaders seem to make the difference between highly successful colleges and the rest, creating environments where all members of the college community see and believe that the college exists to serve students.

It is hoped that this publication will be an important resource for community college leaders. Copies of this report have been sent to each community college in the country. Additional copies may be purchased for $5 each from the National Council on Student Development. To order, contact Walter Bumphus, Howard Community College, Little Patuxent Parkway, Columbia, Maryland 21044. Telephone: 301/992-4809.

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Are We Ready for the Future?

R. Stephen Nicholson, Chancellor
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This is a crossroads morning for the national community college movement. The issues that you will address in the next three days are of importance beyond the sunlit summer view from this room. Unless someone thoughtfully puts together a signboard for the future, the community colleges are in serious difficulty.

Although by nature I am a positive person, for the past few years I've had some concerns about community colleges that I've never expressed publicly. This morning is the time and the place to do so, because you're in a position to do something about them. We anticipate that you will come forward with significant documents that are cornerstones for the future, not only for your councils and your own college, but cornerstones for the future activities of all of our colleges. Unless we clearly view and prepare for the future, we will place many of our institutions and citizens at risk.

One year ago, I don't think anybody in this room could tell us the temperature at which the O-rings on the solid rocket boosters of the *Challenger* would cease to function. It wasn't important. However, this morning if we went around the room, most of us would have, within a few degrees, a pretty good idea of the point at which the O-rings would fail, for it jeopardized the prestige of our nation and meant the lives of our astronauts. What are the critical points at which some vital functions of the community college movement might fail?

What are the measures we could use to indicate the critical point at which community colleges would cease to function effectively as they have in the past? Dr. Boyer, who's now President of the Carnegie Foundation, at a recent breakfast with some university people said, "I think that without the community colleges, this country would have had a revolution somewhere in the last fifteen years. During this time, the community colleges resolved some very significant social and educational problems that existed in our country."

Community colleges still have a vital role. My remarks this morning could facetiously be titled, "What do you do with a used python?" If you look thoughtfully at the role of the community college in the past two decades, you'll see that many, many populations have passed through our organizations.

We've seen the veterans come and go. The organizations that I've been a part of had enormous numbers of veterans in the sixties when I came in—now the veterans are almost gone. The new GI Bill, which offers us an opportunity to enroll people who are in the National Guard and in pre-Army and reserve training, is an opportunity that few community colleges have addressed.

We had large numbers of minority populations, but the statistics indicate that we're not meeting many needs for these people.

We had numbers of returning women in our classes. Many of them are still there, but efforts to reach this group have diminished in many institutions.

We had the draft, which may or may not have forced young men into our institutions. In the institutions I've served, the proportions of men and women at the end of the draft changed radically from about 55 percent men to 55 percent women. We no longer have that powerful driving force putting populations through our classes.

Now the question is, do we have a structure that was designed to serve populations that

really don't exist; have those populations passed off the scene? The Educational Commission of the States, which is the national organization of governors and legislators, is publishing a document this week on "at risk populations" in which they point out their serious concern about the future populations that need to be served educationally in this country. Examples of these are the pregnant teenage population and the unserved people of blighted urban areas. This timing fits perfectly with our tasks here. The AACJC Board, in its last meeting, decided to place concerns about this "at risk population" on their agenda of public policy.

Placing these concerns on the agenda doesn't mean anything unless we have working documents that serve as guideposts to better meet the needs of these special populations. In terms of the future of community colleges, I'm not a mindless pessimist or a naive romanticist. We need a good cold water shower right now for our ideology. We must be sure that we are seriously concerned about these new students in community colleges, and that we seriously assess our abilities.

There is a great deal of self-serving ritual and rhetoric that enables us to feel good about what we're doing without looking seriously at the day-to-day situations in our colleges. As an anthropologist who is interested in cultural systems and cultural change, and as a college president, I am not discouraged but concerned. The more concerned I am, the more encouraged I become that we can rebirth and reconstitute our colleges. It is time to rethink and reconceptualize. That is what this conference is about and that's why you're gathered here.

We often get involved in the questions what, where, when, who, and how. We can easily spend all of our time on these five questions and on activities that relate to them. However, the one question we always need to come back to is that central question—why? If we can't answer the "why" question, then all the other questions really don't mean anything. Why are we doing it? Why is this happening? Why are we concerned about it?

Allow me to share some of the things I'm deeply concerned about. The Orientals have some very nice proverbs that say things beautifully. One of the great proverbs of China is that a fish would be the last thing in the world to discover water. Could it be that community college leaders who are in day-to-day contact with the colleges may be, in some way, unable to look at community colleges seriously? They are our water. How can we discover it, rediscover it, or analyze what we're really doing?

One of the things that concerns me regarding the concept of access is that when we really begin to talk about it, the liberal and the conservative views of access are expressed differently, but the final result is the same. The liberal view is, "let's get everybody in and then see what happens"; the conservative view is, "let's get the ones who are really going to be the winners and educate them." So the result of either view is that we'll have an elite group of leaders who are sure to survive, and we're only quibbling about how big a base we're going to start with. Let's look at what is not happening in terms of our institutions.

In terms of the water we live in, is the "open door" a myth? Do we really have an open door to our institutions? Is access really there? For instance, we have a lot of rhetoric about access, but do you know how intimidating a large array of buildings can be if they're not properly signed? Can you imagine a person of limited ability, or a person of stature in the community, who wants to take a class but can't find the way to the Registrar's office because there are no signs?

Similarly, have you observed, as I have, the cavalier attitude that some faculty and staff exhibit toward students? Does access mean that if you are willing to call many times, and if you keep asking many people, you will finally get the kind of information you need? Do we still have the right attitudes about being helpful?

Another thing that seriously concerns me about access is the way our schedules are being built. If you look at schedules on our campuses, are they built for the convenience of students? Do we have 80 percent of our classes scheduled at a time when 80 percent of our potential population is working a 9:00 to 5:00 job? What services are available on your campus after 5:00 in the afternoon? Those evening students pay the same dollar, they have the same kind of needs—or greater—than the students who are there in the daytime. Are we substantially different in terms of access than the university? The university simply says, "We are located here. If you can get to where we are, we can educate you." Access in that situation simply means that you have to go to the right place geographically. We have theoretically bridged that chasm of geography, but have we arrogated to ourselves certain kinds of privileges that simply say, "We go home at 5:00 even if the students are still here."? What percentage of your students are still on your campus after 5:00? Does the percentage of evening students at any time match up with the percentage of educational services and other things that should and must be available to provide full access? Can we look seriously at the open door and say that it is really there? When we're talking about access, do we get too involved with what are really mechanical and technical

details that are most familiar? Someone must constantly point out these invisible barriers.

Another thing that should concern us is the bifurcation between services, or the fiefdoms that have developed on all of our campuses. One of our great concerns should be how we can once again become a whole institution. I suggest you go back sometime and reread John Keyser's article on holistic leadership.[1] The integration of the services on our campuses is extremely important for access. We pass people along as if they were of no concern. After they get registered in their classes—no concern; after we've given them a grade—no concern; after we've qualified the results, reported them to the state, and received our state aid—no concern.

What kind of energy, what kind of money, are we willing to commit to the dropout problem? One set of statistics provides us our greatest imperative to give this more attention—dropouts for one year. In just one year, the high school dropouts in this country are going to cost us $65 billion in lost taxes, $200 billion in lost wages, and $20 billion in welfare costs. That is the cost of the 1985 class we just missed.

Is access a rhetoric or a ritual? Another source of deep concern is the diminishing role for all service areas in our colleges. Learning resource centers have been eviscerated in the past ten years by budget crunches on our campuses. Are community colleges places where students can walk through and get some credits without ever getting an education? Few of the faculty, student services staff, or students on our campuses use the learning resource center. Why is it there? Is it like the lawn at the front of a house—like a cultural custom that we manicure and never use? Why do we have learning resource centers if faculty believe the answer to getting books for students is to have them buy two more books? When I see texts at $35, and nursing students paying $75 and $80 for a book, or see students who are buying three books for classes in which faculty are making assignments in only one chapter, I get concerned.

We have other serious problems that are not only invisible, but undiscussable. It is these undiscussable aspects of our operations that should disturb us deeply. They are just too tender to touch. When you start to discuss them everyone gets uncomfortable and you become a troublemaker.

One of these is the lack of understanding faculty have for the student services operations. The reciprocal is the diminished respect that student services people have for faculty because of the cavalier way they have dealt with students and counselors.

Have we recapitulated the industrial model of mass production? In those growth years when quantities were most important, we simply drifted into a mass production model in which we, interchangeable people, replaced interchangeable parts. The key of the mass production model is that all of the parts are interchangeable. Have our interchangeable kinds of roles become debilitating now? Have we already lost that sense of wholeness or integrity that comes from being a part of one another?

Unless we do recover our personal approach, we are in serious transition to a far different kind of college.

Right now the people with whom I deal in the corporate world are going away from the industrial model. They are going to a much more personal, interactive, and humane model. A new building opening on our campus will be used to plan the training of General Motors workers. Built by the United Auto Workers and GM, it is symbolic of a whole new set of relationships—nonconfrontational, nonadversarial, cooperative, collaborative, and recognizing that a mind is a terrible thing to waste. Like many other corporations, GM is spending a substantial amount of money to recover lost ground in human resource development.

At IBM in White Plains, New York, we asked about two months ago, "What is it that IBM does in training that sets it apart?" They said that on any day at IBM, twenty percent of all employees are in a classroom for retraining. Can we say that about the community college? How much of our effort is spent on retraining the people in our colleges: custodians, clerks, faculty, administrators, presidents? If we are in education and don't spend any significant amount of our money retraining the people who are producing our product, can we hope to survive? What are we going to do when companies with which we are supposed to be working are spending substantial amounts of their time and effort to retrain their employees, and community college leaders are not able to allocate even one percent of their budgets for retraining and upgrading their workforce?

The question then becomes: Have the community colleges really overrun their primary objectives and have they really fulfilled their major functions in this country?

In state after state, we've been outmaneuvered in funding. We simply have not been a major priority in the funding cycle in the past five to seven years in most states.

Basic and developmental education is so essential to the future of this country and to the future of community colleges that we've got to find

a way to fund it, to do it, and to market it. Marketing is not advertising. The key part of marketing in regard to developmental education has to be a product that gets the job done. If you're going to market, the first thing is to have a product, and if you have a product, then you can find a place in the market for it. We still have a long way to go toward developing a product that makes developmental education happen. If it took us forty years to get the overhead projector out of the bowling alley and into the classroom, how long will it take us to use the kind of aids to teaching that are available to us now?

When we talk about placement, assessment, and developmental education, what are we going to develop? Are we going to develop people capable of only replicating the past, or are we going to develop people capable of creating a future? Are we developing people who are simply going to fill existing jobs; who learn to read as people have always learned to read, and who learn to compute as people have always learned to compute? These are the things the Educational Commission of the States is concerned about. These are the things all the critics are concerned about. But we, as people on the inside of our institutions, need to have a longer range vision and a more creative vision than simply trying to get up to a normative standard based on past performance.

Another thing concerning me is how we are going to find a way to place people in commitments that are lifelong, worthy, and noble. Do we have people with those kinds of commitments in our classes? Do we have people who model those kinds of commitments teaching our classes? Do we have people who are really working together? We are talking about citizenship. Where are we going to find a place and a way to create citizens?

One of the things that occurs to me is that if we need people who are cooperative, why do we continue to grade competitively and reward individual performances? The structure of our instruction is individualistic and competitive and we reward that. In terms of our institutions, only the teams—football, basketball—get any recognition for significant teamwork or group activity. Where else in our society does anyone get a significant kind of learning opportunity or any kind of recognition for being a member of a group? As long as we continue to ignore this, it may be one of the abhorrent parts of our culture. Have we so glorified individualism that we have eviscerated our ability to work together significantly as groups of people?

Another part of the industrial model is collective bargaining. This is confrontational, controversial, adversarial, and sets group against group. Do we have to continue to rely on a process in which we deprecate each other? Is this the best way to allocate resources for the future?

What are our models? The old model has assumed that people are disposable. When new technology came along, we came up with a new set of people with new skills and a new location. Too often the old people are simply put aside. We won't be able to do this any longer because there will be fewer and fewer young people and more and more old people. What does that mean for the community college and where does assessment, placement, and developmental education fit in with older people?

Russell Edgerton of the American Association of Higher Education has said that educators must make consistent and principled efforts to develop course content that develops character and prepares students for participation in the world in which they will work. Are we doing that? Or have we got our own curriculums and programs, that only fit the criteria for our degrees? Do our programs reflect community needs or are we living in our own curriculum world? Are we the fish that never look at the water? Increasingly, these questions are being asked, yet we are defensive, finding ways to avoid addressing the problem. How can we teach students?

One of today's common phrases is that because of technology we're seeing things "dumbed down." We have workers who know less than their predecessors because "smart machines" have replaced the need for intelligence and expertise. I don't believe that. The *Challenger* O-ring failure was, on the surface, of a mechanical nature. In reality, it was a failure of the group decision-making process—a failure of the teamwork. In Chernobyl, workers who were not trained adequately to deal with nuclear technology panicked and were responsible for the disaster.

Why are we concerned about placement, developmental education, and assessment? If we do a perfect job of assessing and a perfect job of placing and a perfect job of bringing students up to readiness for college-level work, have we got the models for development of character? Do we have, standing in our classrooms and walking in our halls, the models of integrity that will enable our students to learn creative cooperation and collaboration?

There is a growing cynicism in community college circles. A cynic is someone who knows the cost of everything and the value of nothing. We can talk to people about what education costs, but cost is only meaningful in relation to value. If the

cost/value ratio is adequate, then the cost is justified. Too often, however, we engage in studies of cost effectiveness and, because the values are often abstract or ignored, the cost stands alone and the value is not discussed as an important factor. We need to take more time to look at the values that community colleges represent. Are our organizations models of integrity, models of character, and models of scholarship? Can we really say that we have done a job for our students? If we can't, then why bother at all? If saving money is the point of the community college, let's close them down and be real heroes.

My friend and mentor in Japan was a beautiful Japanese gentleman who had great character. He had suffered through the war for his convictions and had spent most of the war in jail. He had been systematically starved by the Japanese secret police until he could hardly remember his own name, not to mention the five languages in which he was fluent. And yet after the war, with the proper nutrition, all of his knowledge and languages came back. One day, one of the students in his class came to him and said, "Dr. Tsutada, I've been thinking about being a college professor. Could you tell me if I ought to be a college professor?" Dr. Tsutada said, "No, I can't tell you if you ought to be a college professor, but I can do this. Why don't you move in with me and my family? Live with us for a couple of months and then decide if you want to be a college professor." After three months the young man decided he wanted to be a college professor.

How many people in this room have the guts to say to a student: "Follow me around; see what I read; watch what I do; listen to what I talk about; watch the way I deal with my family; watch the way I deal with my colleagues; live with me as my shadow for two or three months, and then decide if you want to be this kind of person."? Can we be lived with? Is the community college really habitable for human beings? We say it is; we believe it is; but is it really? Have we grown fat, sassy, and complacent? Have we become satisfied with our jobs? How many people in your institution can tell you almost to the day how many more years it is until they retire?

You might be interested in a little book by Richard Neibuhr entitled *Social Sciences of Denominationalism.* Basically, he tells the story of the social impact of the church, specifically, the Methodist Church in England. John Wesley observed the plight of disenfranchised people who were, for the most part, coal miners and factory workers. They were not welcome in the established church. John Wesley and the Methodists established their churches at times and places accessible to these people. At 4:00 in the morning, they preached to them as they went to work. Thus, the Methodist Church started with those disenfranchised people who were on the bottom of the English social system.

One generation later, the Methodist Church could no longer minister to the disenfranchised. Why? Because the early congregation had now become middle class and their children were continuing their education. These people had their homes, their families, and were in a different place. The church now dealt with these successful people and no longer ministered to the down and out. William Booth came along and started the Salvation Army to deal with the disadvantaged. Those that the Methodist Church could no longer deal with became the membership strength of the famed Salvation Army.

Who is going to be the successor of the community college? Will we have a successor? Will it be the proprietary schools? Will it be someone who learns how to use technology better than we do? Are we obsolete? Can we be a team? Can we address significant curriculum and instructional methodological reforms that will enable us to demonstrate our vaunted flexibility, our vaunted humanity, and our skills with people and with each other? Again, let me state my concern—genuine and sincere; not critical, but loving and thoughtful—are our community colleges underconceptualized for the coming decade?

Notes

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2
Access and Excellence: The Articulation Challenge Among Urban High Schools, Community Colleges, and Four-year Institutions

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In his recent description of equity and excellence as an educational imperative for changing the state of Black America, Charles D. Moody, Sr. conceptualized an equity-based education model as four dimensional. He described the four dimensions as:

Access—as it relates to schools, programs, and classes;

Process—as it relates to the fair, humane, and dignified treatment of students, parents, teachers, and administrators;

Achievement—as it relates to test scores, grades, graduation and dropout rates, awards, rewards, and recognition; and

Transfer—as it relates to additional opportunities for (or access to) postsecondary education, vocational and job training, and improved life chances in the form of jobs that will provide equal pay, power, privilege, and prestige.

The issue of access is one which, more than it affects any other single group in the country, affects persons who live in urban areas. The vast majority of such persons are black and economically, as well as socially, disadvantaged. What is the nature of the access that black youngsters have to educational resources?

Consider Moody's findings in a 1984 School Superintendent study of equity and excellence. A look at black student enrollment by geographic regions across the nation showed that:

- 63 percent of all black students in the Northeast region of the country attended .77 percent of the school districts in the region;
- 66 percent of all black students in the North Central region were represented in .78 percent of that region's school districts;
- 1.3 percent of all superintendents in the nation enroll 67.3 percent of the black students enrolled in public schools; and

- of 15,538 school districts across the country, the 50 largest districts account for almost 38 percent of all black students enrolled in public schools, with well over 50 percent enrolled in the 100 largest school districts.

These figures clearly describe the dilemma of access at the elementary and high school levels. Added to these facts, consider some findings from the 1984 *Minorities in Higher Education: Third Annual Status Report.*

- Minority groups are all younger than the white population, with an average median age of 24.9 compared to 31.3 for whites. Therefore, the college age cohort for minority groups will increase at a time of decline for whites.
- Blacks, Hispanics, and native Americans continue to be underrepresented in enrollments in four-year institutions.
- Blacks experienced proportional enrollment declines at all postsecondary levels, though they have registered slight increases in absolute numbers since 1976.
- Blacks experienced losses in proportional share of degrees earned at every level of education between 1976 and 1981.
- Black men registered significant decreases in degrees received at all educational levels.
- Hispanics and Blacks experienced increases in the number of high school graduates from 1975 to 1980, but the percentage of high school graduates enrolling in college for both groups declined.
- Asian Americans registered gains in enrollments and degrees earned at all educational levels.
- Minorities accounted for only 8 percent of the total science and engineering doctorates employed in academia, and 5 percent of doctorates in the humanities—a continuing and serious underrepresentation for all except Asian Americans.

These facts are stark. They point to the critical need to assure educational excellence within each of the four conceptual dimensions described by Moody. Most specifically, they point to the need to develop sound strategies that assure the first dimension—access to opportunities at all levels of education and training within the society. The issue, most directly stated, is one of increasing the number of students who successfully move from one level of education to another: from elementary to high schools, from high schools to community and junior colleges, and from these two institutions to baccalaureate and graduate degree granting institutions.

To avoid the continuing trend of greater division between the educated majority and uneducated minorities—a group that will increase dramatically in the next two decades—there must be a concerted effort to build partnerships to improve the access, opportunity, and success of high school students as they move to community and junior colleges and on to four-year colleges and universities.

We refer specifically to the development and implementation of effective articulation strategies related to curriculum and student support services, including financial aid planning, as well as other processes and policies that facilitate student access, opportunity, and success at the three different levels of education.

The primary purpose of such linkages, coalitions, and networks between high schools and two-year colleges, but particularly with community colleges, is to facilitate cooperation in the development of respective programs and curricula for high school graduation, associate degrees, and baccalaureate degrees. The primary beneficiaries of such agreements are the students who are best served by current information about programs and protected by firm commitments among institutions of differing levels of education. Such students are thereby provided the opportunity of planning a total baccalaureate degree program at the outset of their planning for a college education.

As professional educators—with direct responsibility for leadership, administration, counseling, or student advising related to student development—each of us must engage in a personal as well as professional commitment to this effort. Even more important, as a National Council organized for the purpose of providing academic and personal support to students in order to improve their chances to use education as a means of entering the mainstream of society, it is imperative that our collective efforts be a vital leadership catalyst for building essential strategies, systems, and processes.

What are the essential elements around which these vertical partnerships that assure student access, opportunity, and success must be built? They can only be determined from a clear understanding of what key characteristics or correlates are crucial to building and maintaining a system of ongoing high quality education, hence student achievement at any level of education. These correlates include strong and effective administrative *leadership* in the instructional and management domains; greater emphasis on development of *reading, writing, and mathematics skills;* a climate of *expectations* that students can learn under appropriate conditions; and use of *assessment* instruments to provide continuous feedback on the effects of instruction.

The Work on Which to Build

Considerable work has been done which, directly or indirectly, addresses one or more of these key characteristics. Many of the efforts have been developed within the context of helping students move from one level of education to another.

Some of this work has outlined in detail the expectations and issues related to the education of black youngsters. *Saving The African American Child,* a report to the American people prepared by the National Alliance of Black School Educators in 1984, presents a vision of standards of quality education for black children—standards of equity, academic excellence, and cultural excellence. The report addresses twenty-one issues related to achieving the standards, including the areas of testing, teaching methods, higher education, performance goals, new technology, and research.

The College Entrance Examination Board's *Educational Equality Project* (Project EQ) is the result of that organization's ten-year effort to strengthen the academic quality of secondary education and to ensure equality of opportunity for postsecondary education for all students. Project EQ has identified the academic competencies college entrants need. It has also developed and launched a series of urban dialogues designed to increase the level of communication between high school and college faculty and administrators on the basic academic competencies (mathematics, English, and the arts).

Other works underway offer guidelines appropriate to developing models for articulation that are dictated by the needs, applicability, serviceability, and appropriateness to an institution. The components included in guidelines to the Association of Community College Trustees/ American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (ACCT/AACJC) *Minority Student Transfer Program* relate to such aspects as institutional commitment, identification of potential transfer students, student assessment and placement into courses, counseling services related to transfer, articulation with high schools and universities, staff and curriculum development, special programs to aid academic preparation, and motivation and evaluation procedures.

The Ford Foundation *Urban Community College Transfer Opportunity Program* (UCCTOP) represents yet another important work from which to build. UCCTOP is designed to assist urban two-year colleges in the development of models and programs which facilitate the successful transfer of minority students from two-year to four-year colleges. One of its goals is to engage high schools and senior colleges in strengthening the transfer process. Among the projects undertaken by the five urban community colleges that received three-year grants in 1984 are curriculum revision to provide credits required for senior college acceptance; consultation with graduates now studying at four-year institutions to determine the best preparation for advanced study; skills improvements in reading, writing, and mathematics; orientation programs and tutoring for eleventh and twelfth graders planning to go to college; and faculty mentorship programs to provide potential transfer students with academic and personal support. The Foundation's recently completed study report, *Helping Minorities Achieve Degrees: The Urban Connection,* prepared by Professors Richard Richardson and Louis Bender, seeks to identify and offer recommendations related to two-year and four-year college policies and practices and state-level policies that affect minority student transfers.

The *Minority Achievement Program,* sponsored by the Association of American Colleges, was launched to support the efforts of institutions that had devised special programs and services to enable minority students to be more successful in achieving their educational goals. The programs, in addition to identifying institutional commitment, program leadership, program conceptualization, and faculty involvement as important to program success, also reaffirm the importance of early contact with students and teachers in their elementary and secondary surroundings.

Some of the work already completed provides an understanding of trends related to testing. The 1985 study on the *Status of Testing Practices At Two-year Postsecondary Institutions* completed by AACJC and The American College Testing Program is of this nature. The results indicate the likely increase in the use of skills testing for all entering students and mandatory testing for course placement in basic skills areas, and the likely growth in advanced placement testing.

Still other work has focused on support of the concept of vertical articulation in terms of the long-range financial planning and financial support needed by students. The United Negro College Fund (UNCF) has, in this regard, demonstrated a *financial aid model* by which it has committed to its member institutions its support of joint recruitment and matriculation efforts with surrounding community colleges. Through this model, UNCF would support students who are jointly matriculated at its member institutions and the "partner" community college at which the earning of the associate degree is a first step to completion of the baccalaureate degree.

Finally, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges has made a strong commitment to minority students in its 1985 *Public Policy Agenda.* Two of the eleven agenda items give priority attention to the themes of access and opportunity. In its role of national advocacy, leadership, and service to its 1,200 member colleges, AACJC reaffirms and promotes the concept of access as fundamental to the mission of the community, technical, and junior colleges. It has charged its National Council on Black American Affairs to serve as a resource for ensuring commitment to access; to work with other councils to develop access, assessment, and developmental education; and to pursue legislation policies and funding to maintain and increase access to higher education. A special AACJC Urban Commission has, in addition to developing a position paper for the association, also launched a nationwide study of student retention in two-year colleges.

Educational Bridges Through Effective Partnerships

The two most significant issues related to student access are the limited availability of financial aid and the often inadequate preparation that students receive in the public schools.

Urban community colleges face problems and possibilities unique in American higher education. Many of them are charged with serving the educational needs of communities with large numbers of minorities and disenfranchised populations, deteriorating public schools, and large numbers of dropouts and underprepared graduates. To serve their constituencies, especially the educationally and economically disadvantaged that other institutions of higher education have historically neglected, they embrace challenges, goals, and a spectrum of programs and services other institutions eschew. Community and junior colleges serve to prepare large numbers of minority and other special groups of students with the skills required for technical and career fields. Just as importantly, community colleges are the needed bridges to baccalaureate and professional schools.

At the next level of the higher education ladder, urban four-year colleges and universities play an important role. Black colleges, for example, offer an atmosphere of support that reduces the alienation of blacks in higher education. In many ways, historically black colleges are still perceived as the only answer to access and opportunity to professional study in science, technology, and quantitative degree curricula for black students. Indeed, there is perhaps no better place where black students feel assured of a comprehensive educational experience that consists of equity and academic and cultural excellence. It would be a severe limitation, however, to view historically black institutions as the only accessible avenues of higher education for black students.

The 1986 Ford Foundation Report on urban two-year to four-year college transfer opportunities, prepared by Richardson and Bender, makes recommendations to improve both access and success for students as they seek to progress within the educational mainstream. Among their recommendations are the following:

Academic Enhancements

- Develop discipline-based high schools with curriculum planning and student assessment that emerge from cooperative arrangements with two-year and four-year colleges.
- Assure curriculum continuity (career ladders) between high school and two-year and four-year college programs.
- Develop high school and two-year college exit competencies.
- Plan the two-year college curriculum with the faculties of high schools, two-year colleges, and four-year colleges.
- Institute mandatory academic assessment and course placement at the community and junior college level.
- Develop appropriate expectations for students in a sequenced manner from high school through the baccalaureate degree.
- Maximize the basic skills (particularly mathematics) preparation of students at all levels of schooling.

Institutional Strategies

- Increase opportunities for two-year college faculty to work directly with high school students, perhaps through programs that introduce them to two-year college curricula and academic expectations.
- Increase the use of four-year college faculty as part-time community college faculty as a means of familiarizing them with the community college student population.
- Develop in-service programs to train four-year college faculty to teach "nontraditional" students.
- Institute introductory programs (perhaps for credit-in-escrow) for community college students planning to transfer to four-year institutions.

As the United States confronts the uncertainties of a high technology future, the challenge of access to education and training becomes paramount. Minorities urgently need to increase their numbers on the national roster of scientists and professionals. Racial and ethnic groups, as well as women, older Americans, and other minority groups, must be able to access and benefit from the opportunities provided by higher education. These persons need to increase their numbers among all professional groups to participate more effectively in the economic and technological growth of their states.

A Call to Action

Significant opportunity exists for professionals in all areas of education to address the need for effective partnerships among high schools, two-year colleges, and baccalaureate degree-granting institutions. Now, perhaps like no other time, a system for bridging levels of education must be created as a smoothly functioning network. The initiatives and strategies that exist contain many of the elements that will make such partnerships effective. The strategies will require careful identification of related issues, development of clear goals and objectives, formulation of systematic linkages, and measurements of the impact of such efforts over an extended period of time.

To be most effective, however, it is imperative that such strategies are understood and supported by the key organizations that represent the educational spectrum—AACJC and The American Council on Education, as well as other local and national organizations representing the special interest groups to whom access to education is most relevant.

While there is still room for improvement, there is certainly a great deal of success to be built upon. There is also a great deal of unfinished work. The following recommendations are designed to encourage AACJC, through its support to individual member institutions, as well as through the collective effort of all members of the organization, to embark on a comprehensive approach to developing relationships with appropriate local, in-state, and out-of-state high schools, community colleges, and other relevant organizations.

In this regard, AACJC Councils are strongly urged to:

- Examine and develop appropriate articulation models with other organizations related to levels of education, taking full advantage of the knowledge gained and the resources available from the extensive work that has been completed so far.
- Broaden and otherwise strengthen working relationships with funding agencies and national organizations that have demonstrated a commitment to student access, opportunity, and success through strengthening bridges for student transition from high schools to community colleges and to four-year colleges and universities.
- Continually stress the importance of vertical partnerships and cooperative relationships among high schools, community colleges, and four-year colleges in such areas as curricula development, student services, classroom experiences, financial aid planning, and resource sharing.
- Provide a forum for sharing and disseminating student development information and experiences, and evaluating strategies related to developing high school to two-year college to four-year college (2 + 2 + 2) and two-year college to four-year college (2 + 2) articulation agreements and other relationships.
- Identify and serve as a clearinghouse to secure financial support from private funding sources to develop and implement articulation agreements, particularly between two-year urban community colleges and four-year institutions.

The aggressive involvement of student development personnel from community colleges in activities designed to improve students' chances for four-year college success is imperative. The importance of early contact of four-year colleges with community college students cannot be overstated. Pre-baccalaureate instructors value exchanges with their college and university peers and gain a new appreciation of their role in students' lives. The same conditions are true for students, faculty, administrators, and counselors who must prepare and assist high school students to gain access to community colleges.

Assuring that students have access to opportunities by preparing them to move effectively from one level of education to another, thus increasing their opportunities for academic, per-

sonal, and professional success, will itself require a number of the ingredients needed to define excellence. The strategies related to building effective vertical partnerships must be pursued and implemented with a clear sense of purpose, a concern for students, and an emphasis on educational quality. Only by doing so can the fourfold dimensions of equity-based education prepared by Moody be successfully realized.

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3
Status of Testing Practices at Two-year Postsecondary Institutions: Trends and Issues Affecting Minority Participation

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The *Status of Testing Practices at Two-year Postsecondary Institutions* is a report prepared jointly by The American College Testing Program (ACT) and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC). It is the result of a petition submitted to AACJC by the National Council on Black American Affairs (NCBAA) urging a study of the uses and possible misuses of testing in two-year colleges. The report provides information about the past and present uses of tests, and their projected future role, in admissions, placement, and exit functions at U.S. community, junior, and technical colleges. The study was conducted to add to the limited information currently available on such uses of tests.

The questionnaire used to collect data for the study was comprised of five sections: Section I—Institutional Characteristics; Section II—Admissions Policies and Practices; Section III—Placement Policies and Practices; Section IV—General Information on Testing Practices; and Section V—Program Completion Requirements. The questionnaire was distributed to 1,303 institutions identified from the AACJC master mailing list. The 683 responding institutions included two-year institutions on the U.S. mainland, Puerto Rico, and U.S.-operated colleges overseas. In reviewing the results of this study, the reader should be mindful that the data reported are not a representative sample of all two-year institutions. Furthermore, the number of institutions responding to individual items varies.

In this study of evolving practices and trends in the use of tests, the survey results are grouped into four major categories: admissions, course and program placement, program completion, and general testing practices. To differentiate between general admissions practices and program-specific entry practices, references in this document to the admissions process will mean initial student entry or acceptance into the institution; references to specific course or level assignments and entry into a program of study will be reported as placement activities.

Among the major findings in the study are trends and issues that raise particular questions and concerns for minority educators and others interested in working with strengthening the academic and educational experiences of minority students. The major section of this document will provide an overview of the issues and trends reviewed in the study. Accompanying this information will be subjective analyses of potential implications of the reported testing practices and policies on minority participation in the sector.

Institutional Profile Summary

The typical two-year college that participated in this study is a public, comprehensive community college. It may be located either in a small town or city, or in a larger community, with unemployment averaging between 5 and 10 percent. The median household income of the families of enrolled students is between $15,000 and $20,000. Less than 10 percent of the total student enrollment or the professional staff comes from ethnic minority groups and more than 60 percent of the students attend the institution on a part-time basis.

Institutional Characteristics

In *Demographic Implications for Educational Policy,* Ian McNett notes that Hispanics are the most metropolitanized of any group of Americans except Asians. Eighty-eight percent of Hispanics live in cities. Blacks, on the other hand, are most likely to live in the inner city. Seventy-one percent do, compared to 58 percent for Hispanics and 30 percent for the population at large. The report's finding that "increasingly, two-year colleges are located in suburban areas" is of special concern. For a variety of social, economic, and educational reasons, Blacks tend to be fairly well concentrated in two-year institutions. Forty-three percent are in four-year colleges and 42.7 percent are in two-year institutions. Clearly, any change in the community college characteristics which adversely affects black enrollment therein has the potential for far-reaching impact on the black community as a whole.

There is no necessary conspiracy of wills that has brought about the movement to the suburbs. As community colleges sought to divest themselves of the trappings of their modest beginnings, the need for a full-fledged campus, fulfilling the desire for both spaciousness and aesthetics, made the suburban choice attractive. In many instances an urban presence was retained, and this would have been commendable were it not for the inevitably spartan nature of that presence. By and large, the college presence in the inner city lacked the amenities that the "main campus" appeared to have in abundance. The often-encountered sense of isolation among students and staff confirms the second-class stature of the urban campus.

Reasons advanced for the disproportionate enrollment of minority students in two-year colleges include proximity, convenience, and low cost. Despite financial aid programs, college attendance and the type of college attended are income related. It follows, then, that changes in any one of these variables—cost, convenience, and proximity— will affect minority enrollment. More specifically, if the benefits attached to each decrease, so will minority enrollment. The movement of the community colleges has done precisely that—decrease the benefits attached to each contributory variable.

Although Alexander Astin discovered that distance away from home is positively related to persistence in college, this is so only in residential situations where students are able to be more fully involved in the life and environment of the institution. In the case of commuter institutions, the inverse is true. Since proximity is strongly correlated to use of financial resources, it tends to have a significant impact on minority enrollment. It is not surprising, therefore, that Valerie Lee found that Blacks are less likely than the general population to attend two-year colleges today than a few years ago. While the boom period of community college construction is over and little can be done about the location of campuses, it is important for administrators to recognize that support services in the form of college-sponsored transportation to the suburban campus, the improvement of services provided at the urban campus, and the full integration of the urban presence go a long way toward offsetting many of the difficulties created by satellite status.

Admissions Testing

Issues

- Is admissions testing being used in community colleges to limit enrollment or as an entrance criteria?
- Do community colleges still practice open door admissions and what does it mean?
- What are the uses of academic skills tests administered to students as part of the enrollment process?

- What is the impact of admissions testing/screening on various subpopulations?
  - — Ethnic minorities
  - — Older students
  - — Underprepared students
- Who are the decision makers or pressure sources for use of tests in the admissions process?

Trends

- The majority of community, junior, and technical colleges practice open door admission.
  - — 79 percent of the responding colleges said that test information is not used for institutional admissions decisions.
- Academic skills testing for first-time entering students is more widely subscribed to by two-year colleges now than it was in the past, and such uses of tests will increase in the future.
  - — 51 out of 69 institutions that did not require tests in the past, now require tests.
  - — Of the institutions that now require testing of most students at entry, 49 percent will require it of all students in the future.
- The use of tests in the admissions process has no systematic effect on the enrollment patterns of minorities and older students.
  - — More than 80 percent of the respondents indicated this. Institutions where minority representation is highest project the future use of test information in the admissions process.
- Greater numbers of minority students enroll at institutions where the professional staff is at least one-fourth minority.
  - — Institutional responses increased from 5 to 17 percent where role models are present, with or without the use of tests.
- The prime source of pressure for expanded use of tests in the admissions process comes from faculty.
  - — 49 percent of the respondents indicated this over other potential sources of pressure.

Consequences: Admissions Testing Trends

One significant finding is the discovery that in the future we can expect testing to be used more frequently and prescriptively in the admissions process. While 80 percent of the reporting institutions indicate no impact on minority enrollment because of increased testing, we should not overlook that 5 percent of the institutions located in communities of 500,000 or more indicated that fewer numbers of minority students are likely to enroll if testing is used in the admissions process. We should not be fooled by the apparently favorable disparity between the percentages—that is, 5 percent showing ill effects against 95 percent showing no effects—because that 5 percent represents an absolute flaw in the argument that minorities will not be affected, and is indicative of a potential threat to minority access, particularly when one notes that the 5 percent showing ill effects are located in large urban centers, the areas of minority concentration.

It ought to be noted that when the study asked the question of effect on minority enrollment in relation to the percentage of minorities in the service area, the percentage of respondents who indicated that minorities were less likely to enroll when tests are used rose in proportion to the percentage of minorities in the service area. For example, where minorities constituted less than 10 percent of the service area, 1 percent of the respondents indicated that the use of tests in the admissions process led to fewer minorities applying and enrolling. However, when the percent of minorities in the service area increased to between 11 percent and 25 percent, 2 percent of the colleges said tests inhibited minority enrollment. Between 26 percent and 50 percent, the responding institutions that indicated the use of tests had a deleterious effect on minority enrollment climbed to 6 percent. This percentage, you will note, is in excess of the 5 percent reported for institutions in service areas with 500,000 or more.

The general point made by these statistics is that while we cannot precisely determine the cause of minority nonparticipation when tests are used in the admissions process, we do have some evidence as to the results, and these suggest that minority enrollment can be adversely affected.

Two related findings in the study address environmental concerns. First, it asserts that a greater number of minorities enroll at institutions where minority staff comprises at least 25 percent of the professional staff; second, it notes that where minority staff size is between 25 percent and 50 percent of the total professional staff, minority students are more likely to apply and enroll even though testing is used in the admissions process. If recruitment and retention efforts are to prove useful, hiring patterns must reflect the reality these findings imply.

Michael Nettles in *The Cause and Consequences of College Students' Performance* notes that black faculty are more involved in students' lives outside the classroom and are more concerned with the students' emotional, social, and intellectual development. Yet, the reality is that those role models are sadly lacking. *The Fourth Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education*

(1985) notes that minority groups have made little progress in achieving proportional representation. Whites continue to be overrepresented on faculties, at approximately 90 percent. Blacks, on the other hand, declined from 4.3 percent of faculty in 1979 to 4.2 percent in 1981. In the administrative and managerial ranks the situation is similar, with black participation declining from 7.4 percent in 1979 to 6.8 percent in 1981. Clearly, the decline of minority participation in the delivery of services is not the singular cause of the decline in minority enrollment. However, the relationship established between professional minority presence and minority enrollment indicates clearly that any strategy for increasing minority enrollment that does not promulgate a significant professional minority presence can hardly be described as serious or far-reaching.

The recent reports expressing concern over the lack of excellence in our schools spring from the Platonic principle that the Good comes from the cultivation of only the recognizable Best among us, a principle that is the product of an agrarian civilization, which may bear little relation to the technological society for which it is currently being espoused. Just as the Industrial Revolution demanded a universal education to provide potential workers with skills, so, too, the technological age makes the same demand. The day of the trained elite is past, not simply for moral, but pragmatic, reasons. This is not to deny the value of excellence, the pursuit of which cannot be described as other than laudable. But K. Patricia Cross rings a truer note when she says that "the tough problem is not in identifying winners; it is in making winners out of ordinary people."

Placement Testing

Issues

- Are there clear standards for prerequisites for course/program placement?
- Is placement testing an advisory or mandatory activity?
- Is there an increased use of placement testing in selective admissions programs?
- Who are the primary decision makers in the use of placement tests?
- Are two-year colleges using tests for advanced placement programs?

Trends

- More than 90 percent of the respondents use tests for course placement of first-time entering students.
  - — Present uses: based on scores, recommendations are made for placement.
  - — Future uses: based on scores, students will be required to enroll in specific courses (including remedial courses).
- The mandatory use of tests in course placement is most prevalent where minority representation is significant.
  - — Both presently and in the future, as minority percentages increase (26 percent or higher) so does the emphasis on testing for course placement.
- The use of tests for program admissions/placement has increased in the majority of the 20 most popular programs of study.
  - — The greatest increases have occurred in the following program areas:
    Accounting
    Business Computer Programs
    Data Processing
    Electronic Technology
    Registered Nursing
    Secretarial Science
- Testing is prevalent in the basic skills content areas.
  - — The mathematical and language content areas will be the focal points of increased placement tests in the next two to three years.
- Course and program placement decision rules are primarily derived from staff and faculty recommendations.
  - — Approximately 63 percent of the institutions indicated that these decision rules are generated by staff recommendations based on general observations versus predictive validity research.
- The use of advanced placement tests will increase in the future.
  - — Advanced placement testing will be used in some form by 81 percent of the respondents. Advanced placement testing will be less significant in the future for institutions that report minority enrollments greater than 50 percent.

Consequences: Placement Testing Trends

One theme running through the report is the critical impact faculty decisions have on program choices and placement. Sixty-three percent

of the institutions indicate that placement decision rules are generated by staff and faculty recommendations based on general observations. The vision of the "ordinary student" must not become synonymous with the black student, so that a dichotomy between majority and minority students based on training and career options becomes institutionalized in the advisement process. *The Fourth Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education* (1985) published by the Office of Minority Concerns of the American Council on Education notes that "while Whites (80 percent of the U.S. population) were overrepresented in all categories of postsecondary education . . . Blacks (10.7 percent of U.S. population) were proportionately represented only in vocational programs (11.9 percent) and underrepresented in academic programs (9.9 percent) and continuing education (4.9 percent)." Currently, too few minority high school students survive to graduation for us to allow those who graduate and enroll in college to be advised in disproportionately high percentages into vocational programs. The transfer function of the community college must remain a vehicle for minority access to the baccalaureate degree.

The study's statement that testing is more frequently required by specific programs than by institutions as a whole gains in importance, particularly when seen in conjunction with the finding that the vocational programs providing students the greatest employment possibilities are the same ones that use tests most frequently. These tests are increasing. If testing functions as a tool that excludes minorities from meaningful participation in higher education, then the danger is clear. A few statistics may dramatize the problem. Black college-going rates as a percentage of high school graduates have declined from 32 percent in 1975 to 27.8 percent in 1980, compared with Whites, whose rates declined from 32.4 percent to 32 percent in the same period. However, the percentage of high school graduates differed dramatically. Whereas 82.5 percent of the white population were high school graduates, only 69.7 percent of the black population graduated. The relative closeness of the percentages of black and white students enrolling in college is deceptive because the black pool is so much smaller than the white. The loss rate is dramatized by Berryman's 1983 study, which showed that the cumulative loss rates for black students is devastating. In 1972, Blacks represented 12.7 percent of all 18-year-olds, 10.5 percent of all 1972 high school graduates, 8.7 percent of 1972 college freshmen, and four years later, 6.5 percent of all baccalaureate graduates. By 1979, Blacks represented only 4 percent of all professional and doctoral degree recipients.

All of this adds up to a small entry point for Blacks into higher education and a miniscule exit point from college.

In his recent book, *The Neglected Majority,* Dale Parnell articulates a theory of vocational training for the "middle third" of high school students. Dr. Parnell's hypothesis of the ordinary student who will be vocationally trained has serious implications for placement and advisement. If indiscriminately applied to minority students, who traditionally are disproportionately represented among the academically underprepared, the hypothesis can have the unintended effect of diminishing that exit point even further, since the provision of a high school education commensurate with a student's perceived skills may direct that student away from the pursuit of the baccalaureate degree. This could exacerbate the leadership and role model problems black students already face. Before we accept black students being counseled into vocational rather than academic programs, on the assumption that the technological future lies with the vocationally trained professional, let black students first achieve the 82.5 percent high school graduation rate of white students. Secondly, those vocational programs that offer the highest potential for employability all demand the skills, particularly test-taking skills, of the academic curriculum. Black administrators and faculty must, therefore, exercise and urge caution in the application of Dr. Parnell's principles.

The *Testing Practices* study reports that course placement test scores for first-time entering freshmen will be used in a more prescriptive manner in the future. This raises several important issues related to provision of remedial services, financial aid, and student self-concept, all of which have important implications for student persistence. For example, as students test at lower levels and therefore demand longer, more intensive periods of remediation, will financial aid regulations be changed to reflect the new reality? Community colleges will experience growth in developmental education as more courses are structured to meet students at their level. Traditional pedagogical methodologies will prove ineffective. The issue of resources will be preeminent. As a result, one must ask whether the tests will serve as instruments to refine our capability to place students in courses appropriate to their skills or as a means of excluding those students from entry into programs that provide access to meaningful participation in the wider society. If the process of vestibuling students in remedial programs progresses without some concern for those students' abilities to complete the process because they use up their

financial aid before they complete the degree, then we have an effective principle of exclusion.

If one considers the tone of disdain taken by legislators toward remedial education in colleges, this scenario is not farfetched. It is no secret that minority enrollment and the availability of financial aid are positively correlated. Between 1980 and 1983, the percent of all incomes garnered by the lowest fifth of households dropped from 4.9 percent to 4.7 percent. At the same time, the cost of education increased by 11.8 percent. Simultaneously, the Federal philosophy has shifted from granting financial aid to espousing "self help." In other words, as costs escalated and income declined, minorities were asked to contribute more toward their education. Research has shown that minorities have not made the shift from grants to loans and have opted to drop out of the higher education pipeline rather than mortgage their futures. Part of our responsibility as black educators must, therefore, be to make power brokers sensitive to the potential that prescriptive placement has for excluding minorities from the pipeline.

The report also notes that the general movement toward more prescriptive use of placement tests has not been accompanied by a greater use of predictive validity testing. In fact, decision rules are generated by staff and faculty recommendations based on general observations. This naturally raises questions about the value and appropriateness of the tests. We need to be able to generalize that the score on a test represents the mastery of a stipulated set of skills. If the tests, when used mandatorily, have the potential to adversely affect minority enrollment or program placement, then we need to be absolutely certain that those traits which the test purports to show are, in fact, tested.

One interesting irony of the 1980s is the simultaneous occurrence of the call for excellence, with its suggestion of exclusion of the academically marginal, and the decline in enrollment that has sent higher education institutions scurrying after that same academically marginal group. Necessity has forced a commitment of sorts to minority students. The pre-college activity, offering increasingly more basic courses to meet the needs of entering students, has increased as enrollments declined. As faculty competency to predict the skill levels of these students decreases, the emphasis on diagnostic testing will increase. It is critical that these tools be used to provide better counseling and placement.

We know that the traditional "two-year" college is a thing of the past, although the name and general image persist. As we pursue increasingly more nontraditional students, this imagery becomes more divergent from the reality. This has implications for recruitment and retention strategies. The criteria for course and program placement must be clearly communicated to the student. If we assume that students who are academically "at risk" are those for whom education has provided the fewest benefits and in whom there may be subliminal or conscious feelings of betrayal, then the college's ability to clarify the student's purpose and its willingness to articulate its own become the nexus of the student/college relationship. Since we provide services to students who see their futures as diminishing and who may be short-sighted in their approach to education, we must be certain to communicate to them the implications and impact of placement testing. The "extra year shock" that placement in remedial courses induces must be avoided if retention efforts are to prove effective.

Program Completion Testing

Issues

- To what extent do colleges use tests to measure exit competencies?
- What skills/competencies are students asked to demonstrate in program completion testing?
- Are proficiency/competency tests given at incremental stages of a student's program?
- How are program completion tests used to evaluate a student's readiness for upper division work?

Trends

- The majority of two-year colleges require core course completion of all students who seek a certificate, diploma, or degree.
  - — Overall, 63 percent of the institutions reported this prerequisite.
  - — This requirement is particularly significant in private institutions and in institutions with a predominance of minorities in service areas and/or enrolled.
- Currently, course completion is preferred to other indicators that students have achieved required proficiencies.
  - — Testing is required more often by specific programs of study than by institutions or state agencies.
  - — Only about 11 percent of the overall respondents indicated that graduates are required to pass exams before admission to upper level study.

- If a nationally standardized test to assess general education competencies were made available, about one-third of the institutions indicated they would use it.

Consequences: Program Completion Testing Trends

As community colleges strive to redefine their missions during the next decade of declining enrollments; as they make decisions about allocating resources to various institutional areas; as the lure of high technology and continuing education, the domains of the demonstrably educable, sway CEOs; the issue of access will become more acute. Legislatures and governors, pushed on by business and industry, may find the siren song of high technology industries and the accompanying rateables irresistible. The community college, like any other institution of learning, predicates its success on the successes of those it educates. If easy successes are available, then the question, "why attempt the difficult?" may well occur. The unique mission of the community college to provide educational opportunities to those who would otherwise be denied them, already challenged by legislatures around the country, may well find itself under siege.

Yet, a simple look at national demographic data would indicate the need for a more farsighted policy. The California Postsecondary Education Commission in its study *Population and Enrollment Trends 1985-2000* notes that "the factors that will determine enrollment potential and service needs for California's segments of postsecondary education over the next fifteen years may be divided into two sets of roughly equal importance. The first set consists of population variables, including total population, age distribution, race composition, geographic distribution, and socio-economic status. The other set consists of postsecondary participation rates for the various components of the population." It then adds that participation rates in higher education can be influenced by policy. We can extrapolate a national truth from these statements. We know that by the year 2010, minorities will constitute one-third of the population, and the sheer size of the numbers have an alluring sound that can induce complacency. We begin to feel that the society has to see the wisdom of educating minorities who will be the workforce of the twenty-first century. We cannot, however, afford to overlook the lessons of history. Technological crisis points in history have not traditionally favored the underclass; rather they have tended systematically to extend that underclass.

There seems little doubt that institutions will make a concerted effort to assess more effectively the competencies of students. Again, one can hardly find fault with this movement, although as Alexander Astin points out, the measurement of competencies may take several forms, including standardized tests, performance samples, essays, departmental exams, interviews, and surveys. The study found that if a nationally standardized test to assess general education competencies were available, one-third of the responding institutions would use it. If we accept that the testing juggernaut will be upon us in the near future, then black educators need to become intimately involved in the process of test creation. They must articulate the reminder that the primary purpose of education is learning. We must present as the primary question, "how well do we educate our students?" Exit tests must be the mechanism for measuring not only student progress but also institutional effectiveness. The study notes that colleges with large minority enrollments are more likely to require that students achieve proficiency in specific general education skills as a prerequisite to receiving a diploma, certificate, or degree. To be sure, as the society becomes more technologically complex, the possession of broad general education skills in association with narrower job skills will become increasingly important. However, if failure is uniformly determined to be the student's fault, if the institution bears no responsibility, then the general education requirement can inhibit program completion. On the other hand, if institutions recognize that the student's failure will be perceived as their failure, then the creation of a generally educated individual, capable of responding to the demands of lifelong learning, will be the product. The American Association of State Colleges and Universities study *In Pursuit of Degrees with Integrity* states: "If assessments are external, the teacher becomes the student's collaborator in the effort to achieve a common objective, without sitting as the student's sole judge. External measures then help direct faculty attention to the vigor of their demands upon the students, the adequacy of the curriculum, and the significance of grades as feedback." Community colleges must rededicate themselves to this value-added approach, and black professionals must not allow the principle to be perverted.

General Information on Testing Practices

Issues

- What other information resources are needed to make appropriate institutional admissions and placement decisions?
  - — Personal needs of students
  - — Ethnic background data
  - — Study skills needs
  - — Vocational interest
  - — Primary language of students
- What discrete roles do institutional administrators and faculty have in policy setting, test selection, and test administration activities?
- What are the general uses of test information in two-year colleges?

Trends

- A substantial number of institutions lack information on areas where students anticipate the need for help.
  - — Only 39 percent reported access to information on vocational interests.
  - — 20 percent reported information on student study skills needs.
  - — 39 percent reported information on student ethnicity.
- The primary use of test data is for program placement, general academic advising, and identification of high-risk students.
  - — 74 percent use test data for general academic advising.
  - — Over 50 percent use test data for identifying high-risk students.
  - — More than one-third use test data for course sectioning.
- The CEO is the primary authority in determining institutional requirements for testing in public two-year colleges.
  - — In private two-year colleges, this prime person is the chief academic manager.
  - — The selection of tests for admission is generally made by the student services manager.
  - — The selection of tests for placement is generally handled by institutional department heads.

Consequences: General Information on Testing Practices

If we proceed from the assumption that the value of data is its ability to provide a decision maker with a reliable picture of the world, then the quality and variety of data loom large in the whole managerial framework. While good data will not necessarily guarantee good decision making, its absence certainly makes management less a science and more a matter of faith.

It is heartening to note that when institutions were asked about how they use assessment data collected upon student entry, 55 percent indicated that they used that information to identify high-risk students in order to deliver intrusive support services. This reason ranked second only to general academic advising. Twenty-six percent of the institutions reported that data were collected for bureaucratic reasons, for example, state agency reports and self-study and accreditation reports. So it does appear that identification of high-risk students is given a high priority. Consistent with that finding, the study reports that as minority enrollment increases so does the use of the data for identification of high-risk students. For example, when minority enrollment is under 10 percent, 54 percent of the institutions report use of data for high-risk identification; when minority enrollment is over 51 percent, 65 percent of the institutions report a similar usage. One apparently anomalous finding was that as the percentage of minorities on the staff increases, the percentage of institutions reporting that assessment data is used to identify high-risk students decreases. For example, when there are less than 10 percent minorities on the staff, 58 percent of the institutions reported collecting data to identify high-risk students; however, when the percentage of minorities on staff exceeds 51 percent, only 50 percent of the institutions report collecting data for that reason. Similarly, one notices that as the percentage of minorities employed as staff increases, so too does the percentage of schools reporting that entry information is collected for grant application purposes.

Although the report does not make the correlation, one wonders about the relationship between the two variables. Clearly, there is more "soft" money in those colleges with high minority enrollment. One is forced to speculate, however, whether the bureaucratic structures created to process grant applications, by draining resources, reduce the institutions' capacity to monitor and service those students for whom grants are provided. If minority professionals are sequestered in marginal programs, the existence of which are dependent on minority presence but which do not provide a source for institutional power or decision making, then the whole issue of relevance arises. Organizational position would account for the minimal impact that the presence of minority professionals has on whether a college identifies high-risk students in order to provide intrusive support services. This bears further investigation.

This is significant because, as the community college population begins to incorporate more of those students who are minimally prepared for college, the need for that marginal population of grant-supported minority professionals will become more acute. This is based on the belief that by training, experience, and inclination these professionals will be better equipped to motivate and instruct this new population of students. Yet, as enrollments decline and budgets shrink, it will become more difficult to justify staff simply on the basis of a special population within the student body. In effect, the staff best prepared to handle the new population will be in conflict with entrenched sectors of the college: tenured faculty and administrators and unions.

In much the same way, as the population becomes even more diverse and more academically marginal, colleges will need to keep more detailed student profiles. For example, the report notes that of the types of information collected and used for admissions, placement, and advising activities, only 39 percent indicated that ethnic background was collected and only 29 percent reported that the student's primary language was recorded. Interestingly enough, 52 percent collected information on students' handicaps and physical disabilities. If the quality and quantity of data collected suggest sensitivity to special populations, then we in two-year colleges have a long way to go. We will certainly need to refine our data collection with respect to assessing deficiencies in the students' skills bank so that appropriate supports may be provided.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Status of Testing Practices at Two-year Postsecondary Institutions gets to the heart of the matter of the much debated issue of access to higher education. Will two-year colleges, now in the throes of redefining their mission, continue to provide access to those who, ordinarily, would have been excluded from participation in higher education? If testing becomes universally mandatory, will it prove to be an exclusionary principle, or a mechanism for assessing students' weaknesses so that they can be appropriately placed in courses that facilitate their completion of a degree? To what extent are black faculty and administrators involved in providing solutions to the problems black students face when confronted with increased testing? The report does not provide the answers to these questions but, in raising them, makes a significant contribution to the vexed question of minority access to higher education.

Some of the trend data implies that educators need to rethink and strengthen many current strategies that pose threats to access and equity in two-year college admissions, placement, and exit activities. The following observations and recommendations are designed to assist educators in creating positive support mechanisms for minorities. They should provide a framework for future discussions and planning activities of the National Council on Black American Affairs.

Recommendation 1

Clearly the trends indicate that minorities are concentrated on urban two-year college campuses. Institutions should be strongly encouraged to spend significant time and resources altering some of the negative images now perpetuated about the intent and effectiveness of educational programs on urban campuses.

Recommendation 2

We need a greater minority presence in the faculty of two-year postsecondary institutions. Recognizing that tenure, like membership in unions, has filled the available slots to the detriment of minority participation, college presidents and boards must make extraordinary efforts to *recruit, foster,* and *promote* minority faculty. In many instances, this may mean ignoring fiscal exigencies that operate, whether intentionally or incidentally, to exclude minority participation.

Recommendation 3

The 5 percent of those two-year institutions reporting decreased minority enrollment as a result of increased admissions testing should be looked at more closely to see if common traits exist. If these traits can be identified, the information could provide some indication of what adversely affects minority student enrollment. Educators then must be better positioned to make recommendations for modifications of procedures.

Recommendation 4

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have enjoyed much success with the same students described as uneducable. Their expertise should be put to use. The NCBAA should convene a task force to strengthen articulation between two-year colleges and HBCUs. The intention would be to create models for the two-year college that have proven effective in the HBCUs.

Recommendation 5

Recognizing that community colleges are located in the center of a tripartite educational system, the NCBAA also must urge a reunion of the community college with the feeder high schools and junior high schools. Attrition of minority youth in high school is very much a matter of them not having a vision of a useful future in the society. The community college must not only articulate that vision but assist in its actualization. To that end, it must articulate as seriously with high schools as with four-year institutions.

Recommendation 6

As minority students enter college with higher levels of underpreparedness, the availability of financial aid will become even more important. The NCBAA must mobilize efforts to correct the current disparity in financial resources between four-year and two-year institutions since this will have a direct impact on minority participation in higher education. The Council also must make certain that legislators are aware of changing student demographics and the need for additional resources to service these incoming populations.

Recommendation 7

A sad truth is that minority educators have not been intimately involved in the process of test creation or validation. On the assumption that hindsight is better than no sight at all, the NCBAA should convene a group of minority educators, statisticians, policy makers, and psychometricians with the intention of becoming more actively involved in the test development, uses, and interpretation process.

Recommendation 8

Racial and ethnic data from community colleges should be systematically collected, analyzed, and disseminated. The NCBAA should insist that a national mechanism be developed to accomplish this task.

Recommendation 9

Educators need to re-address the issue of preparing minority students for effective test taking. Institutions must strengthen their efforts toward improving black students' test-taking performance by instructing them in good test-taking vocabulary and making them as academically test-wise as their white counterparts.

Recommendation 10

Institutions need to collect information on the enrollment patterns, by program, of minority students. Currently, we are not certain that minority students are enrolled in the most competitive programs or are we certain that they are receiving the kind of guidance and counseling that will provide them opportunities for educational development versus job/vocational development only.

4

A Silver Anniversary Special: The Anatomy of Excellence in the Community College

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The decade of the 1960s witnessed phenomenal growth in the American community college movement. *The Community, Technical, and Junior College Directory* documents that almost four of every ten existing community colleges opened physical and academic doors during those halcyon days. This year, during the 100th year celebration of the Statue of Liberty, many community colleges are proudly celebrating their Silver Anniversary—twenty-five years of service to their communities—twenty-five years of service to millions of Americans, all seeking to move up the staircase of opportunity through enhanced education and training. A major spokesperson for the community college movement has referred to the community college as "the Ellis Island of higher education" (Vaughan, 1983).

As we pause this year to contemplate our years of progress, we should remember that in all of recorded history, only America and what she stands for has permitted and made possible higher education for anyone who can benefit from it. Not only is America unique in its opportunity for access to inexpensive education and training, she also is alone in the social concept of multiple opportunities for persons to succeed in the pursuit of educational and career goals. Even more unique is the high assurance that education and training obtained will ultimately be a marketable commodity in obtaining personal freedom from want.

It is perhaps an anomaly that in the summer of 1986 we also celebrated 100 years of the "lady in the harbor"—the Statue of Liberty. Witnessing on television this star-studded celebration, we were vividly reminded through the writing of Emma Lazarus that America holds out great promise to those who have immigrated to this country with renewed hope for liberty and freedom and the inherent dream of economic success.

Community college advocates would draw the parallel that as Miss Liberty lifts her lamp beside the golden door so does the American community college lift its lamp promising enlightenment and economic security. Moreover, perhaps the greatest freedom of all is promised—freedom from ignorance. As many community colleges celebrate twenty-five years of service, and others commemorate a half-century or more of service to

communities across America, perhaps we should also pause and reflect on promises not kept and hopes not achieved in our movement.

In 1960 as we began a decade of sustained growth, Medsker (1960) identified two failures of the community college that persist even to the summer of 1986. Medsker pointed out our failure to deliver on the promise of the "open door" and our failure to achieve an identity of our own. To a great extent our failure is linked to the failure of America to achieve for all its people the promise of liberty and freedom from want. In fact, a major concern in America today is the widening gap between the "haves" and the "have nots." In discussing the splendor of the Liberty weekend celebration, the Reverend Jessie Jackson observed that the average American, and certainly those who were processed through Ellis Island, would not have been able to afford the price of admission to the Liberty celebration. Mr. Jackson could also remind us, lest we become smug regarding our accomplishments, that at the time of the initial celebration of the erection of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, one in every six Americans had originated in Africa and had entered America through a southern port as a slave or a free black. Henry Cisneros, the mayor of San Antonio, could remind us that the majority of Hispanics west of the Mississippi saw the Rio Grande as the sea to be crossed in order to reach the promised land. President Bob McCabe of Miami-Dade Community College could remind us that the isthmus of Florida juts into the Atlantic like a lightning rod, attracting tens of thousands of immigrants from Central and South America and the islands of the Caribbean basin to America's shores. The number and nature of these immigrants powerfully affect the enrollments of community colleges of the region. At Miami-Dade, for example, the majority of all students are Hispanics and more than 16 percent of the student body is Black or non-Hispanic.

In a larger context, we celebrate this summer with our dreams of the future of our country and the community college movement. In the next century, now scarcely a decade away, we are promised a time when the minority populations of today will be the majority population of that era. This phenomenon will be achieved through continued immigration of and increasing birthrates for today's minorities, coupled with decreased birthrates for the majority population of the 1980s. The minority-majority ratios already have created a situation where minorities dominate twenty-three of the twenty-five urban public school districts in America.

Student Characteristics

The brief discussion of the demographics of America is not designed to raise an alarm over minority-majority ratios. The purpose is, rather, to reiterate the social reality of the role and mission of the American community colleges. Our role has been and will continue to be to expand educational opportunities for the poor, the minorities, and other upwardly mobile working people. Our task is not an easy one. We have documented in other studies that community colleges have long borne the brunt of educating adult illiterates and high school underachievers in American higher education. Evidence of this inherent mission is borne out by the fact that by the late 1960s remedial reading, writing, and mathematics constituted the most frequently offered courses in America's community colleges (Roueche, 1968). There is not much evidence to support the fact that these ratios have changed significantly.

In our recent study of excellent American high schools, we discovered that average scores on basic skills tests for high school graduates fall between the eighth and tenth grade level (Roueche and Baker, 1985). *A Nation at Risk* reported that average achievement of high school students is lower than twenty-six years ago when Sputnik was launched (Gardner, 1983). Boyer (1983) reported that in a 12-nation study of achievement scores in seven subjects, U.S. students were in the lowest third in reading, at the bottom in math, and tied with the lowest in civics. Undoubtedly, the declining performance of students in America's high schools has had a powerfully negative effect on both retention and achievement of students enrolled in the community colleges. For example, we determined in one community college in the Southwest that 717 of 905 students were required to take one or more courses in developmental English. Over half of all entering freshmen required one or more courses in developmental math. Of 957 students who took the Nelson-Denny Reading Test, 477 scored below 10 (a reading score that correlates at about the tenth grade reading level).

Another community college reported sequential retention data for a degree-seeking group of 1,810 students who enrolled in the fall semester and listed the associate degree as their career goal. Ninety-seven percent withdrew from one or more general education courses in the initial semester. Only 27 percent of the students successfully completed more than one-half of the hours for which they had enrolled in the fall. Less than one-half of the students who enrolled in the fall reenrolled for any courses during the spring semester. Of those

who reenrolled for the spring semester, less than one-half reenrolled in the second year of the two-year program. Finally, three years later less than five percent of the students who had originally enrolled were still persisting in the program, and four percent of the original number had successfully completed the program. Although these data do not deal with the reenrollment of students in other programs or colleges or the "stop-out" phenomenon, the numbers would lead our publics to conclude that community colleges are only capable of producing a success ratio of less than five percent of entering associate degree-seeking students.

Our research over the past several years and the research of others convince us that these retention data are not atypical in community college settings across America. In light of these data, we should not have been surprised that in our 1982 study most community colleges were unable or unwilling to track statistically the retention and persistance of their students over a one-year period (Roueche, Baker, Roueche, 1984). We wondered if we should conclude that the failure to focus on student progress and retention is the result of community college leaders who focus on some other measures of success or leaders who are concerned with the impact of public disclosure of poor success ratios on support and funding for public community colleges.

Community College Critics

On the surface perhaps, those who criticize community colleges may be too harsh given the complexity of our mission and the lack of preparation of our students. Yet, we have every reason to believe that the challenges of low-achieving students and the limited ability of community colleges to meet the challenge of the open door can be met and resolved through better leadership and management. Were we to listen to some of our strongest critics, we might conclude that success will not be in the cards for community colleges. It is Karabel's (1972) view that community colleges perpetuate a system of class-based tracking. That is, individuals in the name of increased need for technical and professional skills enter community colleges in order to escape the lowest-paying jobs. Zwerling (1976) argued that community colleges actually serve to channel people into essentially the same position in the social structure that their parents already occupy. Pincus (1980) looked at the community college as a social cooling-out process, arguing that community colleges provide the workers that industry needs and save four-year colleges from wasting resources on those who cannot achieve the baccalaureate, resulting in a social system where students get the jobs that they are capable of holding and protecting the system from the negative political consequence of finding itself with too many people with expectations beyond those that society can accommodate. Those who have studied the community college as a social system conclude that in the future it is unlikely open door colleges will be able to retain students and be as successful as four-year colleges (Astin, 1977).

University of Texas Studies

In evaluating our own studies, conducted individually and collectively over the past decade, we have reluctantly drawn the following conclusions. (1) Community colleges promise much more than they are able to deliver in terms of student success. (2) Community colleges are much less likely to track student success than are public schools or four-year colleges. (3) Community colleges are much more likely to present anecdotal data to provide evidence of student success than they are able to cite the ratio between the number of students who begin and those who complete a program. (4) The multiple missions of community colleges, from non-credit short courses across a full spectrum of career, occupational, technical, and college transfer programs create an environment where community colleges have difficulty in focusing successfully. (5) In community college classes we observed that students were rarely expected to demonstrate general education skills that are normally associated with college-level courses. (6) Community college students were expected to read, write, and compute more and at higher levels in remedial courses than would be required of them in freshman and sophomore level courses (Roueche and Comstock, 1981).

In addition, in our 1984 national study of developmental practices in American two-year and four-year colleges, we concluded that almost every college and university in America had some form of special help to assist students with learning difficulties. Our research documented that in various types of higher educational institutions, the range of services to students correlated well with the severity of the problem. Data analysis led us to further conclude that remedial and developmental education is big business in American higher education. This is true also in our major universities, where there was generalized reluctance to publicly state the extent to which the university was involved in providing remedial and develop-

mental services to students: we determined a tendency to mask and meld developmental services into the fabric of the institution in such a way as to obscure or complicate the true purpose of the services (Roueche, Baker, and Roueche, 1984).

The Excellence Studies

While others have made major contributions to the overall functioning of the community college, we have focused our research on teaching effectiveness and those related aspects of excellent community colleges that document student success.

For the past two years, our work has focused on developing and interpreting operating models of both effective public schools and community colleges. This research effort, funded by the Sid W. Richardson Foundation, has produced two books, several articles, and a battery of instruments designed to determine the climate, leadership competencies, and extent to which appropriate student support and success systems are in place in community colleges and public schools. To date, research has focused on 154 public schools—evaluated as the best in America—and on Miami-Dade Community College, which was named by a select panel as the best teaching community college in the United States.

At the time of this writing, we have utilized our instruments to gather data from more than twenty other exceptional community colleges. This research has examined various aspects of our Community College Excellence Model. The development of this model and our analysis of the various data bases have led us to view the community college as a somewhat unique organization. In the family of human service organizations, usually referred to as "the professional bureaucracy," the typical community college is as different from its higher education sisters as it is from its public school brothers. Our research and the research of others have documented uniqueness in governance, policy development, funding, recruitment, assessment, faculty attitudes and expectations, student development, and most importantly, student expectation and values. This uniqueness, we believe, requires the development of strategies, perhaps best described as pre-strategies or emerging concepts. In addition, we believe that most community colleges, especially those established in the 1960s and beyond, are presently in the stages of early development and that all concepts relating to institutions so recently established are emergent; that the science and art of employing the political, economic, and mental forces to achieve student learning and community development in the community college is at present both underdeveloped and underresearched; and that in the Silver Anniversary of the community college movement much remains to be done to both understand and make effective this new concept in American education.

We hope that our own work is a classic example of emerging theory leading to an understanding of the community college as a unique professional bureaucracy. In accomplishing our research and directing the research of our students, we have focused on several major themes relating to excellence and student success. Our research has been as qualitative and descriptive as we can make it. We have relied on uncomplicated methodologies to collect our data. We have been active and involved researchers, both shaping and being shaped by our biases. We have attempted to be detectives by tracking patterns of behavior and relationships between leaders and their followers in American schools and colleges. Even though we have employed simple methodologies and much of our own intuition, we have attempted to be as systematic and as holistic as time, energy, and resources would allow. We have attempted to describe our findings in realistic organizational terms. And finally, while we realize our limitations, we have sought to synthesize the diverse elements of the colleges and schools that we have studied, even though we know that our mosiac is viewed "through a glass darkly."

We are also aware that the diversity of the community college calls for contingency approaches to strategy development. In one sense, forces impacting colleges and forces within the college will not only shape what is possible, those forces will also shape the speed with which a college is able to respond to students, community, and college needs. Nevertheless, we have arrived at conclusions that we believe fit the normative (expected) values, beliefs, and expectations of community college leaders in terms of how leaders must behave to accomplish organizational goals within the context of the college. We have developed several models to explain the relationship of our variables. These models appear in both our public school and community college studies (Roueche and Baker, 1986).

Figure 1 displays one conceptual view of the interaction of leadership and group structure within the excellent community college. This model was adapted from Likert's four-system model where collaboration is viewed as the most effective organizational leadership process. The purpose of this chapter is to share with the reader what we have discovered and documented in community colleges where leaders have captured

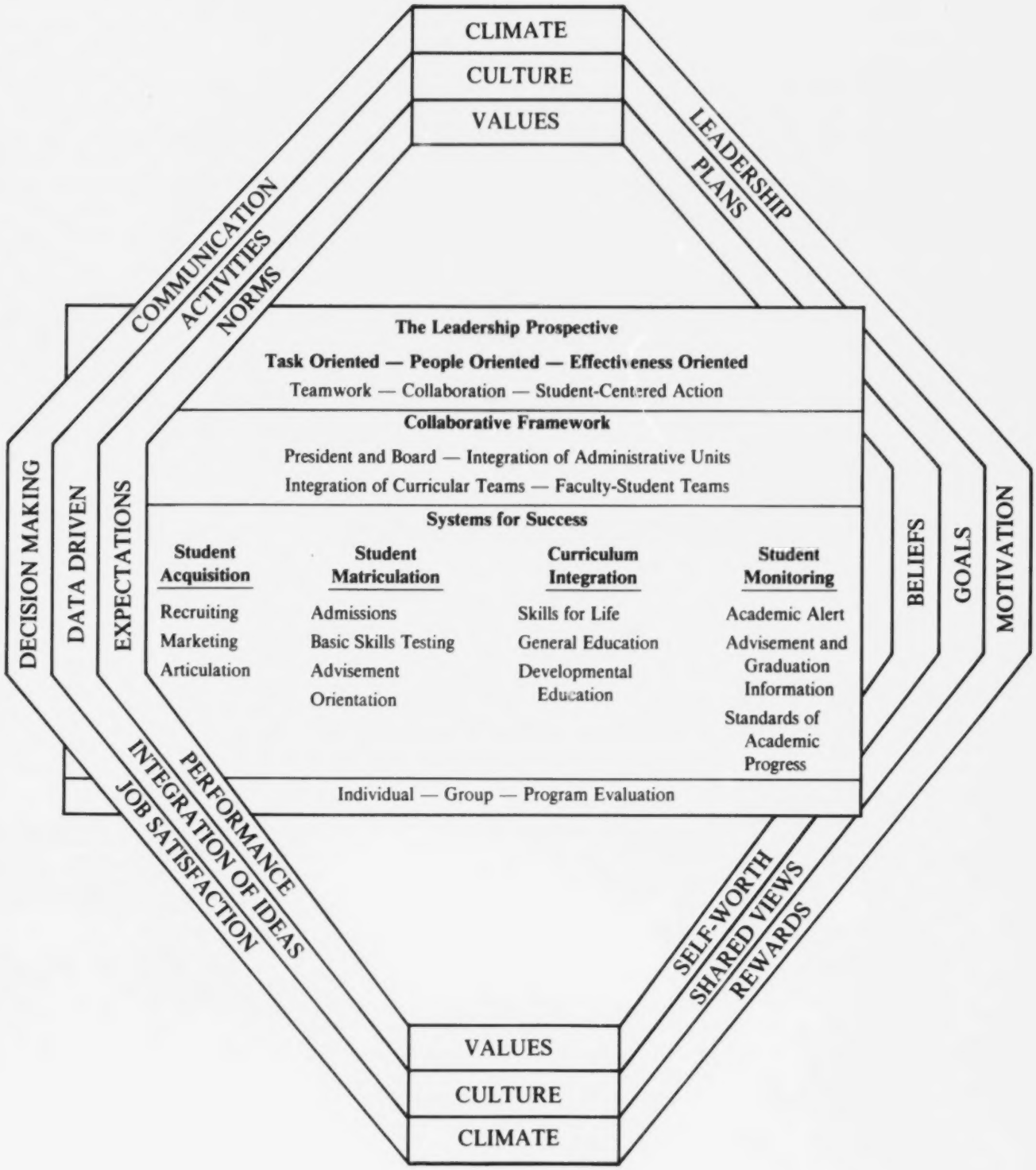


Figure 1

A Conceptual View of the Leadership and Group Structure Within an Excellent Community College
Roueche and Baker, 1986

the energy, commitment, and motivation of students, faculty, and staff to create an exciting and successful community college culture.

Leadership: The Central Concept

Our research documents that effective community college leaders operate from well-organized written and conceptual action plans. These leaders do not develop a plan during an annual retreat and place the plan on the shelf until someone asks to read it. Effective leaders build, through collaboration, action plans that capture the energy of college staff members. For the most part, the president is the conceptual salesperson of any plan, employing persuasive skills to sell ideas to others. Presidents instinctively continue to embed ideas until participants come to believe that the ideas originated in their own minds. The leaders that we studied also recognized that excellence in the organization can only be achieved by an enlightened team of leaders who instinctively share common goals and work collaboratively in order to achieve what has been formerly agreed upon. In one community college setting, we found little difference in the leadership skill levels among three levels of college administrators (senior vice presidents, deans, and directors) or in their philosophical views. A common organizational philosophy can only be explained when administrators are selected and socialized, employing carefully derived strategies that result in general agreement of desired outcomes. Our research supports the view that such socialization and empowering behavior is an effective strategy where the influence process relates directly to those concepts and beliefs mutually shared by the administrative team.

Since formal leaders can only function in an organization with goals and resources and within a process of influencing others, the key question becomes how the modern college leader can be democratic in relationships with others and at the same time maintain necessary authority and control in the organization for which he/she is responsible.

The leaders that we studied began the process of influencing others by first demanding and subsequently expecting collaboration between various divisions of the college. Our study of leaders in public schools and in community colleges validated a model of situational leadership, where leaders attempted to vary their behavior to fit the circumstances. In a word, they sometimes emphasized mission; at other times, they emphasized morale and consideration of others. Through factor analysis we discovered three major leadership behavioral qualities that correlated well with other leadership models in the literature. We found our leaders to be *task oriented* in that they initiated structures for problem solving and decision making; to be *people oriented* in that they were able to build a strong sense of institutional commitment through collaboration; and to be *effectiveness oriented* in that they were able to provide both vision and direction for the college and its members through planning, organizing, and influencing the attitudes and values of individuals.

Our research allowed us to determine the extent to which these leaders possessed the leadership competencies in our model and also the extent to which these leaders were successful in influencing the attitudes, values, expectations, and behaviors of others in the college setting. We examined this relationship by determining the extent to which the individual's perception of overall college climate was related to that person's view of the quality of the leadership employed.

Climate and Culture

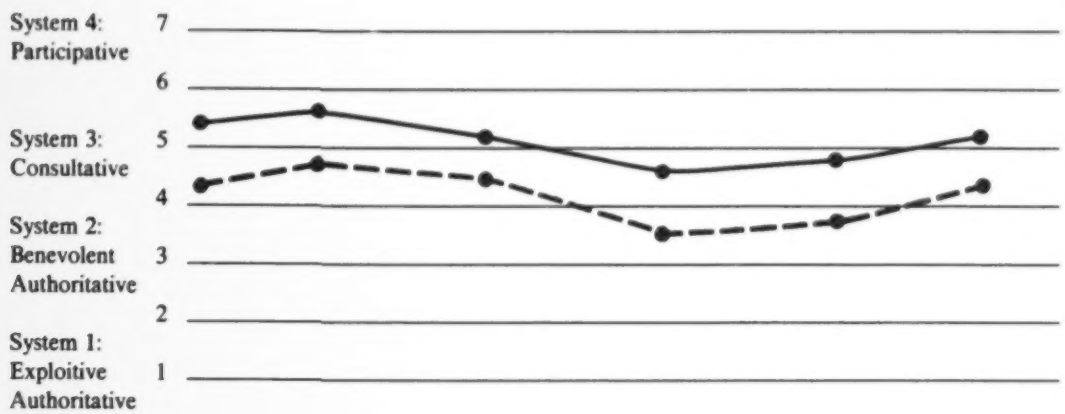
Our climate studies were adapted from Likert's Theory of Organizations. Likert's now-famous system-four theory linked leadership to organizational climate through a causal and outcome model. He concluded that when leaders influence others to organize and collaborate around mission and goals, the resulting influence process can affect in a powerful way the expectations, performance, and ultimately the major outcomes of the college. Our article, "Examining the Fruits of Excellence" (*Community Junior College Journal*, April-May, 1986), and new book, *Access and Excellence: The Open-Door College* (AACJC, 1986), summarize our findings on six aspects of climate in community colleges: leadership, motivation, communication, decision making, rewards, and job satisfaction.

We have since conducted survey research on a large scale and have summarized these findings. (See Figure 2.) Our evaluation of the climate data yielded the following conclusions. (1) In general, members in typical community colleges perceive the climate as about halfway between environments in which the leadership consults with college members (system three), and a position where the leader attempts to act in an autocratic fashion, but with the perceived approval of the college members (system two). (2) Exceptional community colleges that we evaluated scored significantly above colleges that were not selected as exceptional. (3) The perceptions of the

quality of the climate are rated highest by top-level administrators and lowest by faculty, with second-level administrators and support staff falling in between these two views. When we evaluated the average perceptions of all groups in exceptional community colleges, we found that the climate was positive and conducive to motivation and satisfaction.

When we aggregated all climate data, it was clear that individuals perceived that the reward systems and the decision processes required the greatest improvement. We also discovered almost a perfect relationship between perceived quality of climate and the perceived quality of leadership skills of the individual's supervisor (correlation .96). This finding was true for all levels of administration, including the faculty member's view of his/her departmental chairperson or division dean.

Data that examined the relationship between leadership and climate led us to conclude that college presidents, in analyzing the environment, respond first to what they perceive the general climate to be and what they must influence in order to bring about change. They then attempt to influence the key administrators in a collaborative fashion to develop the plans and activities necessary to carry out what the team believes is important. We also discovered that while individuals within the college have a general perception of the extent to which the college is accomplishing something worthwhile, they generally are most affected by the perceptions and expectations of their immediate supervisor. This finding led us



Variable:	Leadership	Motivation	Communication	Decision Making	Rewards	Job Satisfaction
Exceptional Institutions	5.24	5.52	5.12	4.58	4.89	5.06
Randomly Selected Institutions	4.16	4.64	4.28	3.54	3.70	4.19

Exceptional Institutions = ——————

Randomly Selected Institutions = — — — —

Figure 2

Climate Profile of Community Colleges Selected as Exceptional
Compared to Composite Profile of a Random Group of Community Colleges

to conclude that the most important aspect of leadership in colleges is the positive influence of the direct supervisor on faculty and staff.

The Process of Influencing Values

In our study of Miami-Dade Community College, we were surprised to find that in the more than forty interviews we conducted, there was overwhelming consistency in the values and beliefs expressed by faculty and administration. We discovered that the college as a community had worked in various group processes for almost a decade to come to agreement on a set of philosophical values relating to the college's responsibility to students and community.

The analysis of our interviews supported the common view that both administrators and faculty at Miami-Dade agreed that a direct relationship existed between student attendance and student success. College members articulated and communicated the belief to students that the primary purpose of financial aid was to increase students' academic success. College members spoke persuasively about the importance of student decision making and commitment to an educational goal as a prerequisite for success within a program. College members frequently reported that the college existed solely to successfully serve both students and community. This shared college philosophy relating to student socialization into the college was most interesting. College members believed that students must be guided firmly into making positive choices regarding their future. We found that the college held itself responsible for making the final decision as to where (at what level) the student would be placed into the curriculum. Once students are committed to an academic course of action, the college holds itself accountable to provide constant and accurate feedback on both student performance and progress.

The Evaluation Component

At Miami-Dade the members of the academic team, including both faculty and administration, carefully developed a battery of tests to determine where students would be placed in the curriculum. Once these tests of basic skills were validated, research was conducted to determine if cutoff scores were accurate for predicting where students should be placed within a curriculum sequence. Then, by policy, the Board of Trustees and the president moved to reallocate the internal resources of the college to meet the academic requirements of the students.

Where the typical college is often unable to offer the number and types of courses that students *need* due to the unwillingness to require faculty to *teach* what students need, colleges like Miami-Dade have embedded the values and the expectations that the college *must* make the tough decisions necessary to meet student needs. Once individuals commit to the idea that resources must follow determined need, the resistance to change is significantly reduced.

Student Responsibility

When we speak with college presidents and administrators regarding a philosophy of firm and directive student management, they most often cite a view that adult students must take responsibility for their own behavior and actions. Thus, since mandatory assessment, placement, and the requirement to take remedial or developmental courses often violate this general principle, most colleges soften this perceived hard line or directive approach. The philosophy and hence the expectations of these college communities require the student to be assessed but leave the decision of where to enter the curriculum to the student.

Not only do faculty and administration at Miami-Dade express strong support for the idea of directive, policy-based decision making, the institution is now able to produce ad hoc and longitudinal studies to support the effectiveness of the college's strongly directive matriculation process. In fact, the college community is so certain of the accuracy of its assessment and placement model that policies exist to motivate students to expend the necessary energy and commitment to succeed in each course for which they are enrolled. For example, the Standards of Academic Progress set maximum academic loads: students who work outside the college and are enrolled in one or more skill-building courses are limited by college policy from enrolling for a full load of college courses if their work hours exceed a set maximum number. Where some would argue that such policies actually prevent students from becoming mature and ultimately taking responsibility for their success or failure, Miami-Dade convinced us that the policies of the college actually provided a requisite framework in which students with accurate performance data to chart their own paths would eventually be successful.

What we have noticed in our field visits is that many community colleges encourage students to try by telling them about other students—most

often those who had the greatest barriers to overcome—who achieved success in the college. Examples cited in the literature include an 80-year-old associate of arts graduate, a blind computer science student, a single parent with six dependent children, and other similar models. While colleges like Miami-Dade also use these "difficult to succeed" models as motivators, they also develop and use retention and success data to report progress to the college community and to make important decisions regarding changes in college policies and procedures.

In summary, our research of college climate and culture has led us to conclude that the major challenge faced by community colleges is the need to affect the climate in which teaching and learning occur and to influence—through the powerful forces of leadership and collaborative processes—what people actually believe about why the college exists. This belief system must be developed over some sustained period of time, employing collaborative processes around the core mission, primary tasks, and important cooperative functions necessary to accomplish the goals.

The Building of Systems to Support Student Learning

The discussion thus far has included several important points; however, this may be the most important point of all. We know that having individuals believe that certain behaviors produce results and then building the systems to accomplish these results is the essence of successful leadership.

We concluded through our research that successful colleges are well-structured. By structure we mean the internal arrangement of people and processes into effective units with procedures and feedback for producing positive results. The difficulty in achieving this structure is exacerbated by the fact that colleges are extremely complex entities where opportunities for real leadership are limited. Those who have studied leadership in a college setting have concluded that faculty behaviors can be only slightly influenced—and yet faculty are the key performers in the achievement of excellence. These researchers also conclude that knowledge about how to maximize learning for each student is elusive and that a natural animosity exists between administration and faculty.

To use a weather analogy—if climate and culture is the lightning bolt, the arrangement of people working together to achieve tasks must be the lightning rod. Our analysis of the structure of community colleges revealed that natural work groups exist to accomplish a major function of teaching and learning. In short, faculty in departments exist to teach content that is deemed important. In a similar manner, the admissions team exists to process students into the college. Yet, standards of academic progress and admission testing have a major effect on both the faculties and the admissions unit. Effective colleges, such as Miami-Dade, resolve this dilemma by developing and tasking teams of individuals that cut across traditional functions. These individuals serve in traditional units of the college and in a task force arrangement to solve problems, evaluate data, and make recommendations regarding systems developed to manage and motivate students.

The student-centered or student outcome model is based on the collaborative aspects of the Likert model—those that promote open communication and extensive interaction among various divisions, functions, or units of the college. Also implicit in this view of the excellent college is the decentralization of decision making to the task force level—in order that student performance data can and will drive the important student decisions. What follows is a brief discussion of the major aspects of the systems for success aspects that we found in the exceptional community college.

Student Acquisition

Whether or not it is an educationally sound practice, most community colleges actively recruit students. These activities are closely related to marketing the college. In an attempt to best serve the recent high school graduates, many community colleges are actively developing improved relationships with the high schools.

Our examination of the recruitment, marketing, and articulation systems of excellent community colleges revealed that task forces within these colleges typically establish close and continuous relationships with business and industry or business-based programs. These task forces also are able to identify potential students by name and in many cases obtain high school achievement and aptitude scores. Some colleges have developed a process that permits the joint enrollment of high school students in community college and high school courses. In an attempt to better serve students, several community colleges have developed agreements that allow sharing the high school and college faculty and facilities.

Several excellent colleges also are developing a process that allows advanced placement of high school students demonstrating advanced proficiency in subject matter areas. Most of the

initiatives listed here are becoming part of written articulation agreements between local high schools and community colleges.

Recruitment plans are becoming much more strategic in exceptional community colleges. Task forces are determining various ways of working with all segments of the community. These plans not only meet the needs of business and industry but also serve as a primary means of attracting students to the campus. Recruitment is also becoming an important aspect of excellent college management information systems. These systems allow both the identification of and communication with various potential students.

Admissions procedures are becoming automated as exceptional colleges build systems that allow for rapid development and retrieval of information pertaining to students and their performance and progress. Miami-Dade, for example, is in the process of developing a two-step admissions process that will allow all decisions involving student admissions to be made by two paraprofessionals during one visit of approximately two hours. During this period, file records will be opened, essential data obtained, admissions testing completed, placement determined, financial aid eligibility determined, and forms filed as needed. The student also will receive academic advisement and a completed initial class schedule.

Not only do these systems for success provide the college with powerful student matriculation processes, they also serve to send students early signals that the college considers their expressed commitment—to education or training—to be serious business. The matriculation process also provides data to determine students' abilities, achievement, and intentions at the time of admission. The management information systems will store and group data for subsequent evaluation of the effectiveness of the policies and practices regarding student progress and success.

Curriculum Integration

Whatever else colleges do, they must engage in reshaping their education and training programs to make them more effective in achieving both the goals of students and society. Exceptional colleges have gone beyond this need to examine the relationships between existing components of the curriculum. They have begun to identify and integrate, within the curriculum, essential skills for life. Before Miami-Dade Community College began to develop its systems for success, it began a curriculum reform movement that has continued to the present. Miami-Dade made only two major changes, yet these changes were pervasive!

First, the college required a battery of general education courses for every degree-seeking student. Second, it required minimum standards for academic performance. The combination of these two changes has become the central focus of faculty inputs into the curriculum change process. Three levels of general education courses, to include core distribution and electives, were developed. The leadership of Miami-Dade, in collaboration with faculty, developed twenty-six goals that established parameters for the requirements and essential elements of the general education component of the college. While other colleges have reviewed courses and perhaps changed the shape of programs, the Miami-Dade approach was to develop collaboratively the expectation and the learning requirements for each course and ultimately to evaluate the extent to which students mastered these essential elements. In order to ensure the success of its educational reform, colleges such as Miami-Dade constantly collect information concerning student performance within courses and programs. Course and program retention rates, student success rates, and results of achievement tests are made available to program teams for the purpose of evaluating and strengthening academic programs.

Developmental Studies

Most effective colleges see developmental studies as a foundation for successful completion of student academic goals; and perhaps as important, they see developmental studies as the linchpin of access and academic excellence. In order to ensure that these programs are able to salvage, redirect, and develop the skills and attributes students require for success, exceptional colleges staff, organize, and manage these programs as a top priority. Our 1982 study of college responses to underachieving students documented several features of successful developmental programs and produced empirical evidence of what worked in the management and curriculum aspects of the program. We discovered that the college administration had accomplished the leadership and management aspects that we reviewed in part one of this chapter. We found both the task and relationship structures tied to firm but fair policies; these policies related directly to expectations concerning student motivation and self-development. Directly supporting these programs was a restructured student development component tasked with the responsibility of recruiting, assessing, placing

and managing student progress and performance. Modern and powerful student information systems within instruction developed validated objectives and devised multiple learning strategies, daily and weekly progress checks, and created a prevailing attitude of student centeredness and high expectation of student success.

Student Monitoring

Although we have discussed student monitoring as an integral aspect of the excellence model, we will focus in this section on the aspects of student management as the central aspect of the student-centered college. As discussed earlier, the leadership of the community college must realize that leading and managing the multiple missions of the open door college require a committed staff and management system that allows decision makers to employ student success information in the development of policies and procedures. These policies and procedures in turn produce guidance and direction to college personnel as they work together to help students become successful in their career and academic pursuits. In order to create the climate and culture that we have described as part of the excellence model, college leaders must consciously build management systems that provide information where and when it is needed, and build into these systems the policies, procedures, and decision rules that result in motivated students, informed and motivated staff, and competent leaders within each unit and at every level within the college.

One central aspect of the student monitoring system is the Academic Alert and Advisement process. This process is a classic example of how the collaboration process brings together the essential elements of the college. Academic Alert and Advisement is a computerized system that provides all students accurate and timely feedback regarding their progress. Based on information provided by faculty, computerized letters inform students whether their attendance and academic progress are acceptable. Letters advise students about required action in the event that attendance or achievement is not acceptable. When conditions demand, students are required to meet with college counselors to determine proper and corrective action. Academic Alert is the keystone to student management in that students are informed regarding their progress and student development personnel are notified of those needing assistance. Perhaps as important is that the system provides evaluation information about the effectiveness of policies and procedures and provides planning information to student development and academic services for better integration of these functions.

Achievement and Graduation Information

One of the most important goals of excellent institutions is providing accurate and timely feedback on student performance. In an important way, students must be able to link performance to stated career and academic goals. Advisement and Graduation Systems provide detailed achievement information about the student—e.g., test scores, program identification, courses, and academic status (including grades). They also display the courses students must complete to accomplish their stated goals. These systems are designed to keep students focused and moving toward their goals in the matriculation process.

Standards of Academic Progress

In our experience, one of the major obstacles in achieving access and excellence in open door colleges is the unwillingness of the college and its leadership to establish academic standards—for fear that the uniform enforcement of such policies will adversely affect enrollment. A close look at the excellent colleges described in this chapter suggests that all aspects of the model must be in place in order to create an environment where everyone—especially the student—is able to succeed through increased motivation and effort. All components of this model are designed to work together to achieve the goal of student success. If motivation is central to behavior, and purposeful behavior is central to success, we must be able to create an environment where the climate is perceived as supportive and is maintained over time to permanently affect those who collaborate to make the student successful.

Standards of Academic Progress is an integrated set of policies and procedures that communicate to all college personnel what is expected of students. Since educators are in the business of adding value and competencies to individuals, they must clearly communicate to everyone involved what price must be paid for failure to progress toward one's stated goals. If the systems work, we must be convinced that properly placed students, properly developed curriculum, and staff who believe that students can succeed will work to link effort to performance and performance to success.

However, the human condition is such that people do not always respond to what is best for them. In the "carrot and stick" approach, the

student must be convinced that a failure to generate sufficient effort necessary to succeed will result in an appropriate adverse response. Since learning and growth are developmental processes and performance and success are the goals, the sanctions of the Standards of Academic Progress should be incremental. In the model being designed by several colleges, students falling below expected standards of performance are first warned and then provided appropriate help. This help can range from counseling and guidance to academic assistance and reduction of academic load. In cases where students do not respond to this intervention, the second level of academic standards is triggered. Under these conditions, the student is placed on probation. Probation results in additional assistance, monitoring, and control to include possible course reduction. In exceptional cases where students do not respond to help, the third trigger is suspension for one semester. It is interesting to note that where academic standards are enforced, most students who have been suspended have reenrolled at their first opportunity and as a group have been more successful in their second effort.

Summary

It is not difficult to conclude that where academic alert, advising and graduation information, feedback on performance, and the enforcement of academic progress standards are in place, a climate is created where students are able to see themselves as the centerpiece of the college. This is as it should be.

In this chapter, we have attempted to identify and articulate what we believe to be the essential elements of a successful community college. We began with the element of leadership since we believe that leaders make *the* difference between highly successful colleges and the rest. We have attempted to demonstrate that it is both what leaders decide to do and how they interact with others that account for the critical difference between access with excellence and access without excellence in community colleges. Our careful analysis of the community college as an organization dedicated to serving students and the community leads us to conclude that one leadership initiative stands out above others—the effective interpretation and articulation of the community college mission to all who have a stake in its existence. This leadership perspective requires leaders to decide where the college is going and what steps it must take to get there. Leaders must then carefully and collaboratively build the unique structures and systems that will provide guidance and direction to the achievement of professional and staff competence. And finally, the leaders must create an environment where all members of the college community see and believe that the college exists to serve students and the community and that the college working together in a collaborative fashion can achieve these important social goals.

We also have focused on how the leaders structure, or organize, the college to achieve student success. We believe that the social, economic, and educational realities of our democratic society yield a student who must be appropriately tasked and monitored through a developmental process. This process leads to an understanding that sufficient effort will lead to performance and performance will lead to success. Student success is the discovery of and commitment to the pursuit of career and educational goals, the achievement of which makes for responsible citizens in a democratic society.

We believe that community colleges, as new American eduational structures, have moved through the first twenty-five years as creatures of state legislatures and have now matured into potentially powerful social, economic, and educational forces for upward mobility in our society. We expect a continuation of this positive maturation process and look forward to a proud and equally exciting golden anniversary of this most important of all social experiments—the community college.

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5

The 1986 Traverse City Statement Critical Issues in the Community College: Access, Assessment, and Developmental Education

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Introduction and Overview

This great country is rich with opportunities for its citizens. Only in the United States can all persons, regardless of their background, pursue the dream of higher education. In its short history, the community college has opened its doors of opportunity to millions of people who have previously found the doors of selective universities closed.

On the surface, the open door community college that is intended to help fulfill dreams of United States citizens is exciting indeed! Unfortunately, a simple commitment to nonselective admissions in the community college has resulted in much criticism of the fulfillment of the community college mission. In fact, an outspoken critic of the community college asserts that students who attend these colleges receive a "second best" education (Zwerling, 1976). Zwerling suggests that the American community college is not a vehicle for opportunity but is a social filter and provides a "cooling out process" so that aspirations of students who want to be upwardly mobile are brought down to a "realistic level."

In July, 1986, a small group of community college professionals met to address several important issues that are basic to the heart of the community college mission. The participants heard outstanding speakers present challenges and criticisms of their work and they were forced to deal with some unpleasantries about the outcome of community college interventions. As practitioners, the participants had learned "first hand" that access through the open door community college without comprehensive assessment and developmental programming was counterproductive to the basic purpose of providing opportunity for the achievement of student aspirations. Sometimes it is difficult to face the reality that not all community colleges are successful in the completion of goals.

This 1986 Traverse City Statement, which describes issues related to access, assessment, and developmental education, is long overdue. As loving critics of the profession, the participants agreed unanimously that the open door community college must make good its promise of opportunity through a variety of pragmatic interventions discussed in this paper.

The subgroup that worked with the access issue spent countless hours, day and night, tackling the ramifications of the open door in the community college. These professionals concluded that simply opening the doors of a community college without being community-based and without providing specialized intervention support was not

meeting the challenge of access. This issue was emotional indeed. Informal discussions led to a realization that some participants were unable to meet the selective criteria of universities and began their higher education at "second chance" community colleges.

The student assessment issue was equally emotional among the issues raised. If colleges assess basic skills prior to enrollment, will this practice limit access to thousands of citizens? Assessment and course placement are extremely volatile issues in the community college today. If a student cannot pass a basic skills test, due either to cultural differences or test anxiety, should colleges restrict the courses in which that student may enroll?

Some participants shared their personal experiences with testing and strongly cautioned against testing as the only measure of student readiness. Thus, it was unanimously agreed that student assessment is more than testing of basic skills and should include an assessment of motivational levels, study skills, background, past performance, educational readiness, and self-concept. In no way should an assessment program restrict access; rather, it should be utilized to promote the success of students toward the pursuit of educational goals.

What happens to a student who walks through that open door and participates in a pre-enrollment assessment program only to find that he or she needs specialized intervention to be successful in college work? A true commitment to access requires an incredibly strong and effective developmental education program. The developmental education subgroup discussed much of the literature in the field and concluded that successful developmental education programs enhance academic standards, improve student retention and goal achievement, and provide important benefits for society as a whole.

Community college professionals are working in settings that are probably the most challenging in the American educational system. A classroom with students from various ethnic backgrounds, ages, and academic levels is extremely challenging to address successfully. Many students who see community colleges as their last chance for opportunity desperately need professional interventions through developmental assessments and support programs. Without these interventions, community colleges often make a mockery of the open door concept.

It may be important to note that the Traverse City participants believed that their position was a major departure from prevailing concepts and definitions. Previously, access was defined as simply opening the door. Student assessment was too frequently used only as a pre-enrollment testing program, and developmental education was only remedial courses designed to deal with the underprepared in basic skills. As one reads the 1986 Traverse City Statement, it is important to note that the participants departed from the above definition of these three concepts. This departure presents major challenges requiring the attention of professionals at both the local and national level. These challenges, in the form of recommendations, are offered with the intent that they will be appropriate in all types of community colleges, large and small, rural and urban, statewide and locally governed.

Organizations and individuals resist change. Successful implementation of the three concepts presented in this paper will require change on behalf of many professionals. In the sixties, the community college was the rebel promoting change in the American higher education system. The time has come for community college educators to revitalize the spirit of promoting change, to critically assess policies and practices, and to enthusiastically tackle the challenges addressed in this paper. It is the hope of the participants that the emotion and energy generated during one short week in Traverse City, Michigan, by a small number of concerned community college professionals will be shared locally and nationally as the profession addresses the important challenges associated with access, assessment, and developmental education.

Access: Making Good the Community College Open Door

For centuries, the United States has attempted to address issues of social justice inherent in the founding Constitution and its guardian, the Bill of Rights. This nation has woven a complex fabric of legal decrees and political prescriptions for social integration, actualization of human potential, and the realization of individual opportunity. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court validated the will and intent of democracy embedded in the U.S. Constitution and included in the 1947 Truman Education Plan that all Americans not only have equal opportunity to educational resources and benefits, but that they have an inalienable right to the same. Within fifteen to twenty years after this 1954 Supreme Court decision, the notion of access for all became manifest in a unique institution of higher education called the community college. The comprehensive "open door" community college system grew with leaps

and bounds as the general citizenry believed that this "open door" would ensure access to education and a better life for all citizens.

Over the years, society's moral commitment to providing access to higher education for all citizens was believed to be fulfilled through community colleges with nonselective admissions policies. Citizens who were unable to attend four-year colleges due to academic underpreparedness, financial limitations, or geographic location, now had the opportunity to pursue the American dream. Persons who wanted to learn a new skill for reentering the job market had a college within commuting distance of their home to achieve this goal. On the surface, it appeared as though the country's moral and legal obligation to provide equality of educational opportunity for all had been met through the community college system.

Unfortunately, too frequently this "open door" became a "revolving door" for many community college students. While students could enroll in community college programs with ease, too often they did not meet with academic success and thus did not achieve their educational aspirations. A common criticism of the comprehensive community college is that it has failed to meet its primary objectives of providing equal opportunity and quality education even though all the citizenry may easily enroll in its programs.

This limited view of access as an open door admissions policy, without supportive programs to ensure student success, does not fulfill the intent of providing educational equality. True fulfillment of access to American higher education requires an attitude supportive of a broader concept of access. This attitude will be reflected in college policies, practices, and programs that are intentionally designed to ensure student success from the point of entry, through the pursuit of educational goals, and toward the successful fulfillment of exit goals.

Thus, access as a statement about the community college mission must go well beyond the myopic practice of "open door" entry into the institution. Access must be seen as an effective holistic process to ensure student success. Community colleges need a new definition of access that focuses on the institution's responsibility to help its students succeed once they enter the "open door" and that focuses on linkages with community needs and resources. How well a community college provides access should be measured by the number of students who achieve their educational goals, rather than the number of students who enter the institution.

Access Redefined

To ensure that the community college makes good its promise of educational opportunity for all, a redefinition of access is in order. Critical components of this continuing obligation of the community college include:

1. Establish and/or redefine college mission statements to focus on meeting community needs.
2. Ensure that institutional practices are consistent with the college missions.
3. Communicate clearly college mission, policies, and practices to the community.
4. Establish linkages with relevant community agencies and organizations.
5. Encourage students to maximize their potential and achieve desired goals.
6. Create and maintain a favorable educational environment that maximizes the probability for student success through college programs, services, and activities.

Critical Issues

The most critical issue related to this topic is a need for the citizenry, community college professionals, and relevant organizations such as the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) to realize that a more comprehensive definition and approach to access is imperative. Once this commitment to a holistic approach of ensuring student success beyond the point of entry is made, other pragmatic issues must be addressed.

For instance, the redefinition of access in the community college will likely require staff and organizational development toward efforts to promote student success. Since a natural result of the nonselective admissions policy is a variety of developmental needs and wants from students, community college staff must be proficient in understanding various learning styles and diversified teaching methodologies and technologies, and must possess the willingness and ability to contribute to developmental education programs. This staff and organizational development program should not be a "one shot effort" but should be an ongoing process of linking the student with the college and the community. It is critical that community college staff realize that the fulfillment of access requires strong linkages with the community.

In line with this community-based approach to access, community colleges should systematically analyze the public's perceived image vis-à-vis the institution's desired image. A clearly defined and effectively communicated image is

vital to access. Commitment to access for all who think they can profit from community college instruction is a commitment to understand who the community college serves and to inform all constituents of various college opportunities. A commitment to access extends to effective articulation with other agencies and organizations, to broadening community support, and to creating information networks that invite community members to engage in partnerships with their community college for education and training.

Without an effective student assessment program coupled with developmental support, access will likely result in nonachievement of student goals. The remainder of this paper describes in more detail the importance of comprehensive assessment and developmental education programs. One cannot overemphasize the necessity for comprehensive and effective programs to ensure that the "open door" does not become a "revolving door." Effective programs often include, but are not limited to, orientation, assessment, academic advisement, individualized instruction, learning laboratories, group projects, tutoring, open entry/open exit options, flexible scheduling, developmental courses, and community articulation.

Retention is a key issue in this redefinition of access. College procedures, policies, programs, and practices should ensure that the student is impacted positively. Student persistence and success is often related directly to individualized contact with positive and caring professional staff. It is critical that all college employees understand the importance of their role in providing individualized support to all students.

Recommendations for Action

As discussed previously, community colleges are often criticized for serving as "revolving doors" while professing an "open door" to opportunity. The most important recommendation on the issue of access is for each community college to recommit itself to providing access to quality education and services through reaffirmation of its "open door" admissions policy, specialized and effective support programs, and programs to ensure successful transition and exit support. Specific to this overall recommendation, community colleges should:

1. Identify community needs and establish or redefine the community college mission and goals to meet those needs. The college's mission and practices should be communicated clearly to the community and students it serves. In addition, it is imperative that institutional practices are consistent with the college mission.
2. Within the scope of the college mission and resources, intervention strategies such as assessment and developmental education support must be developed in light of identified community and student needs. Strong support for these programs is imperative.
3. Thoroughly review existing institutional intervention strategies. In addition, the development and maintenance of an ongoing evaluation system to ensure that the strategies are effective must be established. These intervention strategies must be integrated into the total institutional process.
4. Establish and promote staff development programs that prepare staff to understand the diverse needs of students served by the college and to effectively support and deliver intervention strategies that ensure successful student access and matriculation. In addition, staff development programs should enhance the effectiveness of staff participation in the community.
5. Engage in broad-based dialogue on issues related to access and develop strategies to promote access. Dialogue on the issues and strategies will likely result in a team approach toward college efforts.
6. Engage in institutional research to study community characteristics and student demographics in efforts to measure whether initial access to the institution is effective. These research efforts should be extended to the study of the successful versus the unsuccessful achievement of student goals after enrollment.

Summary

This paper has strongly suggested that a redefinition of access is in order. No longer can the criterion for determining whether a community college is fulfilling the "open door" mission and providing access be limited to a single factor of nonselective, "open door" admissions. These criteria must be extended to providing support for the student while enrolled and when the student leaves the institution. This redefinition is grounded heavily on a focus of linkages with community needs and resources.

While the suggestions and recommendations offered are certainly in order for all community colleges, it is important to note that each individual institution should conduct its own assessment, develop tailored plans to achieve access-related goals, and ensure that an evaluation of these efforts leads to program improvement.

It is impossible in one short week to address every aspect of the complex issue of access. It was the intent of this 1986 Traverse City group

to capture the spirit of access in community colleges and to provide several concrete reflections on this complex issue. It is important to note that access and the fulfillment of each individual student's goals and aspirations is the umbrella under which the next papers were written. Comprehensive assessment is vital to the fulfillment of student success and developmental intervention is often an extension of the assessment process. Thus, a surface commitment to access without a pragmatic commitment to programs of assessment and developmental education is no real commitment at all.

Student Assessment: Critical Issues and Challenges

A Philosophy

The "open door" community college has attracted a highly diverse student population. The varied skill levels of this population, coupled with the high rate of documented adult illiteracy in the United States, indicates that appropriate assessment of students' skills and careful placement in a responsive educational program are needed if community colleges are to increase the probability of student success. Comprehensive assessment is critical to the fulfillment of access objectives and to ensuring that this "open door" is not a "revolving door" for many students.

Community colleges that allow or advise academically underprepared students to enter classes for which they are not prepared may be closing the door to student success and blocking the road to achievement of both institutional and student educational goals. Assessment is a vital component for effective teaching and learning. An effective assessment program will promote educational quality, access, and the efficient use of institutional resources.

Student Assessment Defined

Student assessment is a systematic process by which students' abilities and interests are determined. Effective student assessment occurs throughout the educational process. While assessment is most commonly used as a pre-enrollment test of abilities in such areas as math, reading, and writing, effective and comprehensive assessment programs are much broader in scope. In addition to basic skills assessments, effective assessment programs should include past performance, educational readiness (mental, physical, and emotional), educational goals, study skills, self-concept, and motivation.

Assessment is a process of assisting students in making appropriate decisions, assisting faculty and staff in determining which educational interventions are most appropriate to ensure student success, and assisting administrators and policy makers in making sound decisions to promote student success. Assessment is not just testing, but consists of a combination of systematic efforts and educational tools to guide the learning and teaching processes.

As Jacqueline E. Woods of The American College Testing Program indicates in chapter 3, assessment is a critical issue in American community colleges. In fact, she reported that over 90 percent of the community colleges responding to a recent study indicated that they use tests for course placement for first-time entering students. Since assessment and testing are often inappropriately used interchangeably, it is critical that community colleges understand the nature of an effective and comprehensive assessment program. Since volumes of literature are available on issues related to assessment and testing, the bulk of this paper has been devoted to recommendations for action. It is important to note that these recommendations are limited to a student assessment program and not to institutional assessment.

Recommendations for Action

The following recommendations are offered with the understanding that successful assessment programs will benefit community colleges and their students in numerous ways. Community colleges will be better able to meet diverse population needs, prepare students for study and improve the overall rate of student completion, and more effectively carry out the "open door" community college mission of opportunity with excellence.

To ensure that student assessment is a comprehensive, effective, and systematic effort toward enhancing educational access and quality, the following recommendations are offered:

1. All community colleges should provide a comprehensive and systematic assessment program for all students. The assessment program should include, but not necessarily be limited to, academic development in basic skills, self-concepts, study skills, motivation, educational readiness, educational goals, and past achievements. In addition, appropriate assessment processes such as counseling, interviewing, and studying past performance should be utilized. It is essential that all credit-seeking students be assessed in appropriate areas utilizing effective measures and tools. Non-

credit students may be exempt from certain tests or other assessment processes designed for credit-seeking students, however, certain aspects of assessment are appropriate and necessary for these students as well.

2. The assessment program should be a systematic and ongoing process. The process should begin on or before the time of enrollment, continue throughout enrollment, and conclude with outcome assessments.
3. Each student, prior to initial enrollment, should meet with a trained professional to integrate information on the student's basic skill levels, past performance, educational goals, motivational level, self-concepts, and personal circumstances to develop the student's educational plan. Follow-up programs should be implemented in appropriate areas for students identified through this assessment process as being highly underprepared.
4. Extensive collegewide input should guide the development and maintenance of the assessment program. It is vital that instructional and student development staff, students, and policy makers work collaboratively to ensure successful development, implementation, and evaluation of an assessment program.
5. Educational programs, especially developmental studies and support services, should be responsive to students' needs as identified by assessment. This action will ensure adequate entry-level skills for students in specific courses and will maintain the high quality of the instructional program. Regular evaluation and timely modifications of the educational programs are essential to meeting the identified needs of students.
6. The assessment process should be used to ensure proper placement of students in courses or programs maximizing opportunities for them to attain their educational goals. The course placement is not intended to deny access for students but is needed to prepare students to more successfully pursue their goals.
7. Coordination of assessment activities should be the responsibility of individuals with experience in and commitment to a comprehensive assessment program.
8. Continuous staff development at both the local and state levels, to improve expertise of staff and quality of the total assessment program, is essential. Professionals who work with assessment instruments should be carefully trained in all aspects of the assessment program.
9. Community colleges should expand their research activities to incorporate the collection and dissemination of assessment information. These research efforts should include, but not be limited to, the establishment of normed data bases, appropriate data analysis, evaluation criteria, evaluation of student outcomes, and validation of course placement, in efforts to improve student success.
10. It is important during the development of assessment policies and procedures that the needs of special populations be considered. These special populations include, but are not limited to, ethnic minorities, international students, limited English speaking students, disabled students, women, adult learners, and returning or reentering students. Alternative procedures should be developed to remove barriers, such as the lack of alternative test instruments and delivery processes, that often disadvantage particular groups of students.
11. A commitment should be made to the funding of necessary staff, facilities, equipment, and administration of the assessment program. Local, state, and national policy makers must recognize that on some campuses the delivery of assessment and developmental intervention may cost more than the delivery of certain other educational programs; however, the cost may be lessened by increased student retention and success rates.
12. To ensure that assessment programs do not limit access, local and state policy makers should fund these programs at a sufficient level to make these services available for all students on either a no fee or a nominal fee basis.
13. Information about the college's assessment program should be disseminated throughout the college and the community. It is important that students, faculty, staff, and the community be informed about the availability and use of various assessment procedures. Access and referral into the assessment process is dependent on an effective ongoing information component.

Summary Comments

The diverse students who have access to the "open door" community college deserve a comprehensive assessment program. It is critical that community colleges assist students in identifying basic entry-level skills, goals, and plans and that they provide interventions to assist students

toward success. If supported fiscally and attitudinally, every community college has the potential of developing individualized and effective assessment programs to assist in making good the promise of the "open door."

Obviously, in such a short paper during a short colloquium, every issue related to student assessment cannot be thoroughly addressed. What is basic to the recommendations offered is that assessment should be a positive experience to assist students and educators in the attainment of worthy goals.

As state and local policy makers study the issues related to assessment and formulate recommendations, policies, and laws, it is our sincere hope that they understand fully the concepts and practices associated with effective, systematic assessment programs. Simply mandating testing without other assessment activities is not comprehensive assessment and this practice may actually restrict access and be counterproductive to the community college "open door" philosophy.

The assessment group wishes to acknowledge the work of the Student Assessment Task Force of the Washington State Student Services Commission. Their March, 1986, Model Student Assessment Program paper was extremely valuable in preparing this portion of the document.

Developmental Education Redefined: Issues, Challenges, and Recommendations

Introduction

The term developmental education is used in postsecondary institutions to describe programs that teach underprepared students effective cognitive and processing skills necessary to be more successful learners. The targets for developmental programs usually are students who desire to enter transfer, career, or occupational programs, or to be functional on the job and in day-to-day life in a rapidly changing society.

For more than one hundred years at institutions like Michigan State, Yale, Harvard, and Cornell, developmental education in one form or another has assumed a vital role in postsecondary education. Developmental studies was first established following the Civil War to facilitate a shift from an egalitarian, rural society to an industrial, urban society (Brier, 1984). Yet, the inadequate preparation of many entering students continues to plague colleges and universities in the twentieth century.

The community college "open door" has attracted many underprepared but hopeful students who have sought the opportunity for higher education, for a second chance, or for fulfillment of dreams deferred. The traditional community response to the prospect of low achieving students with poor academic skills has been remedial courses. Recent research indicates that expanded and comprehensive developmental programs enable underprepared students to complete college-level coursework and simultaneously increase academic standards (Keimig, 1984).

An analysis of the literature supports the hypothesis that these programs consistently improve students' reading and writing skills, grade point averages, and retention rates (Kulik, Kulik, & Schwalb, 1983; Boylan, 1985). Whether underprepared students are recent high school graduates with inadequate basic skills, returning adults with dormant study skills, undecided students with low motivation for academic achievement, or English as a Second Language students, developmental programs can provide appropriate transitions to success.

Some argue that excellence can be achieved only by limiting educational access, e.g., admitting only those students who have a high probability of success. This attitude definitely represents a return to an elitist form of higher education. Community colleges are dedicated to excellence and to access, as evidenced by AACJC's slogan "Opportunity With Excellence." While the dilemma of opportunity with excellence may seem perplexing, there is an answer to this paradox—an intense and actively supported developmental education program. If standards are to be maintained, and student aspirations are to be realized, then all community colleges must dedicate themselves to providing realistic pathways through the open door for all students.

Only within the context of an effective developmental education program can community colleges provide educational experiences appropriate to each student's level of achievement, ensure standards of academic excellence, enable students to persist and ultimately to be successful, and build the academic and personal skills necessary for students to succeed in subsequent courses or on the job. For community colleges to provide underprepared students anything less would be to make a mockery of the open door, and to deny democracy's promise of educational opportunity.

A major focus of this paper is to explore the issues surrounding the developmental education debate and provide recommendations that may be used by colleges, local boards, and funding authorities in their decisions. It is imperative that developmental education is viewed as a comprehensive effort and not simply a remedial, short-term endeavor necessary to right the shortcomings

of a secondary school experience. A commitment to quality developmental education programming is a commitment to long-term, quality educational experiences necessary to help students to be successful and cope within a rapidly changing information oriented society.

A Case for Developmental Programming

According to most projections on population demographics, the number of traditional college-age students is declining and will continue to decline until the mid-1990s (Carnegie Council, 1980). While colleges and universities may not raise admissions standards, the number of well prepared college-age students who meet these standards will decline.

The same projections suggesting a decline in the traditional college-age population also suggest that minority and part-time students are the most rapidly growing segment of the college community. During the next two decades, colleges and universities will admit nontraditional students—minorities, returning adults, and displaced workers—in increasing numbers (Carnegie Council, 1980). Yet these groups are among those that tend to have the poorest level of preparation for college-level work (Cross, 1971).

According to a recent survey, 97 percent of American colleges and universities indicated that deficiencies in basic academic skills represent a major problem among incoming students (Lederman, Ribaudo, & Ryzewic, 1985). Surveys indicate that approximately 50 percent of incoming community college students do not have the basic skills necessary to succeed in college. (Roueche, 1968, 1984).

As the American society and world technology become more complex, Stechert (1985) predicts that 80 million to 100 million adults will be functionally illiterate by the year 2000. Increasing numbers of adults will need to keep up with technology, understand the economy, and make "educated" voter decisions. An effective transition education program will be necessary to assist adults in making changes, especially since many adults are not likely to want to return to high school and would prefer to learn in a local community college or university setting.

As a result, large numbers of adult students will either be returning to a college or attending college for the first time within the next twenty years (Carnegie Council, 1980). Yet this population is probably less prepared for college attendance than most traditional-age students. Kozol (1985), for instance, asserts that one-third of American adults cannot read very well or at all. In 1983, the U.S. Department of Education estimated that 23 million adults could read only functionally.

Developmental Education Defined

A comparison of the research studies conducted in the 1960s (Roueche, 1968) and those published since 1982 (see Boylan, 1983, 1985; Helm & Chand, 1983; Keimig, 1983; Kulik, Kulik, & Schwalb, 1983; and Roueche, 1983, 1984) reveal substantially different findings. While the latter studies found increased rates of student success, their contribution to our increased knowledge of the essential elements of a successful program was equally important. Essentially, those early studies reflect "single shot" remedial courses, which Keimig (1983) cites as the least effective approach to underprepared students, while the more recent studies describe learning as a developmental process or continuum which is sensitive to the skills of the learner within the context of the demands of the specific learning environment. Hence, the term "developmental education," which includes but is not limited to remedial courses, has evolved in the literature as an effort to describe comprehensive and integrated progams.

Developmental programs are comprehensive in that they assess and address the effective and cognitive variables necessary at each level of the learning continuum, utilizing a combination of delivery systems such as basic skills courses, learning assistance centers, supplemental instruction, paired courses, and counseling services. Effective programs are integrated into the curriculum of the various career and transfer programs, encourage the infusion of the developmental view of learning into all instruction, and promote college-wide responsibility for student success.

Specific characteristics of successful developmental programs identified in the studies cited earlier are that they:

1. Enable students to acquire competencies that match the entrance expectancies of faculty teaching "college-level" career and transfer courses.
2. Provide structured courses with clear expectations of homework, class attendance, and performance levels.
3. Exist in institutions that have established policies and procedures which signal that college personnel are serious about their responsibility for student learning, and their willingness to intervene at any point where the student's academic success appears to be in jeopardy. These policies and procedures support placement practices and limit the number and level

of courses in which the students may enroll in accordance with their individual family and work responsibilities as well as their skill deficiencies.

4. Ensure that the governing boards and chief executive officers of the institutions demonstrate their willingness to make tough decisions; set high expectations for faculty, staff, and students (including attendance, adherence to contact hours, and limiting late registration to periods prior to the first day of class); and consciously model the importance of improving student learning.
5. Provide counseling and tutorial support needed to help students meet their learning goals.
6. Limit the faculty and staff assigned to developmental education to those who believe that students can and want to learn and are confident in their ability to cause learning to occur.
7. Provide faculty and staff development, training, and retraining.
8. Engage in data collection, student follow-up studies, and evaluation to determine the outcomes of their effort and to refine and improve their programs.

Cost Effectiveness

College administrators and state legislators frequently forget that developmental programs are cost effective, given the measure of fulfillment of student aspirations. Cost effectiveness is best illustrated institutionally in the following ways:

1. Maintenance of Academic Standards

   Successful developmental programs raise academic standards. Such programs enhance student skills so that they can meet higher academic standards than they would be able to otherwise. According to a recent meta-analysis of results from developmental programs, participating students typically obtain grades of over 2.00 while similar students who do not participate typically receive grades of less than 2.00 (Kulik, Kulik, & Schwalb, 1983). Furthermore, students who participate in developmental programs typically improve their academic skills by as much as three grade levels as measured by standardized tests of reading, writing, and mathematics (Boylan, 1983).

2. Improved Retention

   Kulik, Kulik, and Schwalb (1983) report that students who participate in developmental programs are typically retained at higher levels than students who do not. Roueche, Baker, and Roueche (1984) found that improved academic performance leads to improved student persistence. The U.S. Office of Education reported (1982) that students who received a full range of developmental services had better odds of persisting through their freshman year than students who did not receive the support.

3. Societal Benefits

   In addition to providing associate degrees and certificates, community, junior, and technical colleges also have a major role in the training and retraining of adults in American society. Much of this training supports transitions in an increasingly mobile work force. But training also is required in basic academic skills to help individuals cope with the knowledge explosion inherent in the computerized high-tech era. The Carnegie Council (1980) projects that basic skills development designed to facilitate vocational transitions will become increasingly important in the latter part of the twentieth century. Developmental programs have proven themselves to be among the best vehicles available for this sort of training.

Summary Comments and Recommendations

Comprehensive and effective developmental programs clearly meet a need in contemporary postsecondary education. Even if the reforms currently being undertaken in public elementary and secondary education are successful in improving the quality of high school graduates, developmental education will still be needed for adults in a changing society. Increasing numbers of nontraditional students and others who graduated from high school prior to the reform movement will be entering colleges and universities in the next two decades. These students will need developmental services just as today's students need them. The magnitude of this problem requires the attention and action of legislators, governing boards, professional associations, administrators, faculty, staff, and students concerning the following recommendations:

1. Provide an annual review of developmental education programs to ensure that students acquire the exit-level competencies which match the entrance expectations of college-level courses.
2. Appropriately design developmental education programs and provide students with a clear understanding of skills needed to effectively pursue college-level work by identifying and publishing the entry-level basic skills necessary for enrollment in each college-level course.

3. Provide comprehensive and ongoing advising, assessment, course placement, and student support programs.
4. Recognize that diverse student populations have special needs and that intensive teacher/student interaction is required through the endorsement of low student/teacher ratios.
5. Provide a planned and ongoing staff development and training program for all faculty, staff, and administration.
6. Provide faculty trained in developmental education at a minimum of the master's degree level and supported by trained paraprofessionals.
7. Ensure that developmental programs are structured to promote regular student attendance and participation.
8. Provide multiple learning modes in order to meet the diverse learning styles and situations of individual students.
9. Address affective and cognitive skills, as well as motivation, interest, attitude, reading, writing, computation, problem solving, critical thinking, reasoning, study skills, and self-directed learning skills in efforts to establish and promote effective developmental education programs that maintain institutional integrity and standards.
10. Provide funding levels for developmental education programs at a level at least as great as for traditional programs and ideally at a level reflecting the more intensive resources required.
11. Foster linkages with other community agencies in order to facilitate student/client referrals and cooperative funding agreements, and to avoid unnecessary duplication of resources.
12. Work with business and industry to promote ongoing and, if necessary, on-site developmental education programs designed to meet specific industry needs.
13. Provide the opportunity for developmental education faculty to work with local secondary schools for the purpose of sharing information related to success in college-level coursework.
14. Endorse the need for developmental education programs through the local governing board and college chief executive officer.
15. Identify developmental education as an essential component of the institution's mission.
16. Transcript developmental education credit equal to that of other college credit but not credit meeting graduation requirements.

In addition, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges should:

1. Promote and lobby for additional funding for research into effective teaching/learning methodologies geared to the underprepared student at the community college.
2. Promote the establishment of cooperative endeavors between its member councils and commissions with national groups such as the National Association for Developmental Education.
3. Collect and disseminate information about developmental education programs to its member institutions.
4. Promote, through the Trustees Association, the need for effective developmental education programs at its member institutions.
5. Promote, at the national level, the value of effective developmental education programs to today's society.

An "open door" community college that does not have comprehensive, ongoing assessment and developmental education support is grossly negligent in fulfilling its stated mission. Developmental programs should be designed to take students from where they are in their learning and move them to a higher level of knowledge and understanding. If community colleges are to continue professing the "open door" to opportunity, intentional efforts must be made to increase the effectiveness of developmental education.

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